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THE HOSPITALLERS OF THE HOLY GHOST.

THE Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost were the embodiment of a philanthropic movement that took form in the heart of a French layman towards the end of the twelfth century. It would be interesting and instructive to know the details and the early history of their organization. For to them more than to any other humanitarian factor does the world owe the origin and development of the modern hospital system—a system that has revolutionized the ways and methods of alleviating acutely ill and afflicted humanity.

In the year 990, Ricuin, the Bishop of Maguelonne, gave in fief to one Master Guillem the nascent seigniory of Montpellier, one of the finest sections of the romantic, sea-laved country of Provence.

During the administration of his lineal descendant, Guillem VI. (1121-1149), there was founded in this city-State a School of Medicine which surpassed even the celebrated University of Paris. And in 1160 it had grown sufficiently to induce the illustrious Placentius of Bologna to open within its walls a College of Law. As Montpellier was Papal territory and a place of rising importance, although not yet the see of a Bishop, Alexander III., in 1162, convoked there a council for the purpose of adjusting the case of the anti-Pope Victor and for considering the problems occasioned by the Albigensian heresy.

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Early in the twelfth century some members of the Guillem family—chronicles do not record which—erected a hospice for indigent sick and for travelers. This guest-house afforded temporary aid and shelter to many who sought relief from their maladies and afflictions in the great medical institution of Montpellier. And when science failed them, as it was bound to do in some cases, there was left to them hope at least of being relieved in another way. For Montpellier possessed a miraculous shrine dedicated to the Mother of God under the name of Notre Dame des Tables. Among the celebrated pilgrims that paid homage to the Blessed Virgin at this privileged spot were Popes Urban II., Gelase II., Calixtus II., Innocent II., Adrian IV., Alexander III., Clement IV., Clement V. and Urban V.

To the sick and poor that visited Montpellier the Hospice St. William was a great blessing; to the citizens it was an inspiration and reminder of the Christian and humanitarian dispositions of the Guillems.

Fame and prosperity might tempt, but they could not captivate Lord Guillem VI. In 1149 he resigned in favor of his son Guillem VII. Having put in order his temporal affairs, he bade goodby to fame, wealth and ease and entered Grand-Selve, a Cistercian monastery in the Diocese of Toulouse. He died there some years later in the odor of sanctity.

Guillem VII., the new Lord of Montpellier, had taken to wife Matilda of Burgogne. From his last will and testament, dated September 29, 1171, we learn that he had four sons. The oldest, Guillem VIII., inherited the father's title and estates; the second, Guillem Bourgognon, was named for the mother. We shall refer to him again. The third son bore the name of Raymond. His father intended him for the Church. He was to retire to Grand-Selve to pursue ecclesiastical studies and sanctify himself until called to fill the neighboring See of Agde. The fourth son was named Guy (Gui, Guido), the diminutive of Guillaume (William), a term of endearment, given no doubt because he was the youngest of the children. To him the father bequeathed one hundred ducats.

At this time the Knights Templars were held in universal esteem in France, but nowhere more than in the chivalrous land of Provence. The foremost families prided themselves in giving a son to this once so illustrious military order. The Guillems were to be no exception. Guy was selected to be their representative. He was to spend six years with the Templars. At the proper time he was to make profession of the monk-warrior life as practiced in that organization and receive no further allowances after that.

However, in the event that one of the other sons were to die before Guy had completed his course and taken vows, the head of the family was to recall him and provide for him at the rate of twenty marcs of silver.

It is the received opinion, though unfortunately it cannot be substantiated by documentary evidence, that this fourth son of Guillem VII. was no other than Guy of Montpellier, the founder of the Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost.[1]

Virchow, basing himself on the researches of M. Germain, does not subscribe to the traditional opinion. Nevertheless, we prefer it and shall follow it, because the results of Germain's inquiry are all negative,[2] and, moreover, in some cases positively erroneous. He errs, for instance, when he assigns the subordination of Montpellier to Rome to the year 1228, during the pontificate of Gregory IX. In reality it took place in 1254 under Alexander IV.

Besides, if Guy was not of this family, it is not easy to account for the generosity of Guillem VIII. to the new foundation, as we shall presently see. But we are anticipating.

Guillem-Bourgognon, the second son, died in 1182. His possessions reverted to the head of the family. Guy, if he was then with the Templars, must have been called home, as his father had directed.

Nowhere do the annals of the Templars of Montpellier refer to him, though they do speak of Guillem VIII., who in 1189 exempted them from all taxes and impost.[3] This silence is significant.

We are inclined to believe that he never entered the Templars at all, but, following the bent of his dispositions, unconsciously prepared himself for the great task that God had reserved for him.

Being a gentleman of leisure and means, he spent much of his time in the exercise of the spiritual and corporal works of mercy. To give greater efficiency to his services of the sick, he very likely qualified in medicine and surgery.

Naturally, most of his attention and labor would be bestowed on the ancestral Hospice of St. William, which at this time was taxed considerably beyond its capacity.

For several notable miracles wrought in 1189 at Notre Dame des

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[1] Gui de Montpellier, "Etude historique," par l'Abbé Paulinier; Montpellier: Boehm et fils, 1870; p. 3. "Le Messager du St. Esprit," Lierre, Belgique, September, 1906; pp. 263-266. "Histoire du Languedoc," par Dom Vaissette, Tom. III., p. 546. "Histoire litteraire de la France," Tom. XVII., p. 599.

[2] Publications de la societe archeologique de Montpellier, 1859, No. 27: "De la charite publique et hospitaliere a Montpellier au moyen age," p. 502 et seq.

[3] Cf., "Geistlichen Ritterorden, Prutz," by Delaville Le Roulx; Vol. VIII., p. 281.

Tables drew to Montpellier many that were afflicted and great multitudes of pilgrims, most of whom depended almost entirely on public charity.

We can more easily imagine than describe the feelings of the pious and sympathetic nobleman at the sight of so much unrelieved misery. Various plans of alleviating it most likely suggested themselves. Two things were clearly imperative—larger and better equipped quarters and more improved methods of caring for the sick by persons specially trained for this task. These two points stood out in bold relief. The more Guy reflected on them, the more he felt himself urged to undertake their realization. He was not blind to the difficulties that must follow such a step. Nevertheless, confiding in Him Who to all appearances was inspiring the work, he decided to undertake it. He enthusiastically set about recruiting fellow-workers. Providence visibly blessed his apostolate.

Before long artisans and builders were busy at work in Pyla-Saint-Gely, a picturesque suburb of the city. And as by degrees their labors took definite shape, there rose a building, massive and spacious, which was destined to be a landmark in the history of hospitaller organizations. It was dedicated to the Holy Ghost, and must have been opened to the public sometime during the last decade of the twelfth century.

Followers and coöperators flocked around the founder. For there was something magnetic about his venture, something fascinating and irresistible. Donations, too, were not tardy in forthcoming. Thus we find in the archives of Montpellier that in 1197 Guillem VIII. waived all claims to and ratified the sale of a garden and some fields that Marie de Fabregues and Bertrand de Montlaur donated to Guy, the procurator and founder of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost.

In his testament, dated November 4, 1202, Guillem VIII. left to the leper colony of St. Lazarus 100 sous; to the ancestral Hospice of St. William, 200 sous, and to the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, 1,000 sous.

Guy and his first disciples were all laymen. "Their organization possessed the noble characteristic that all its members were laymen."[4]

Before long these pioneer-nurses perceived the wisdom and propriety of consecrating themselves and their enterprise to God by an act of religion. Encouraged by their spiritual superiors, they at first lived in community as a pious brotherhood. They followed, by way of experiment, a quasi-religious rule. They took in the indigent sick and cared for them in a systematic way, they aided the afflicted and buried the dead.[5]

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[4] H. C. Burdett, "Hospitals and Asylums of the World," London, 1893; Vol. III., p. 42.

The new foundation attracted the attention not only of individuals, but of communities as well. It was an eminently successful experiment and prospered beyond expectation. The founder had the great satisfaction and consolation of seeing the tiny seed he had planted grow into a majestic tree, which was enveloping powerful branches, laden with fruit and foliage. Houses similar to that of Montpellier were opened and managed by him in Barjac, Largentiere, Milhan, Brioude, Troyes, Marseilles and even beyond the Alps in the Eternal City.

That Lotario de Conti, before his elevation to the Sovereign Pontificate, had visited Montpellier on his way to Paris, is certain. That he was acquainted with Guy and his new foundation seems highly probable.

This would explain the great interest he took as Innocent III. in the Hospitallers and their various establishments.

On April 22, 1198, hardly three months after his election, with a score of other far more important and pressing matters awaiting adjustment, Innocent III. took time to address instructions to the Bishops of the Province of Aix to the effect: (a) not to molest any one that was disposed to aid the Hospitallers; (b) to authorize them to build churches and open private cemeteries; (c) to let them select from the secular clergy chaplains for themselves and for their establishments.

And on the following day, April 23, he formally approved the new organization under the title of "The Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost."[6]

In his continuation of the "Ecclesiastical Annals of Baronius," the Dominican Bzovius, referring to this approbation, says: "In that year (1198) Innocent III., among other deeds worthy of the Sovereign Pontificate, confirmed the erection of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost founded by Guido at Montpellier."[7]

And the Abbé Paulinier, who seemingly had access to the autograph notes which Baronius prepared for his proposed thirteenth volume, quotes therefrom as follows: "We find several indults accorded to different persons by Innocent III. in the first year of his pontificate, and in particular the one by which he confirmed and enriched with indulgences and extended to the whole world the

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[5] Cf., Johann Wolfii, "Lectionum Memorabilium et Reconditarum Centenarii," XVI., p. 508.

[6] Cf., "Dictionnaire des Ordres Religieux," Helyot, Tom. II., col. 206 et seq.; "Encycl. Theol.," Migne, Vol. XXI.

[7] "Annalium Ecclesiasticorum," Tom. XIII., p. 7, div. 7.

Order Regular of the Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost, which had recently been founded by Guy of Montpellier."[8]

The Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost must not be confounded with any of the charitable Brotherhoods that provided shelter and protection for the pilgrims that visited the Holy Land. These were organizations of warrior-monks. But the Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost were essentially religious nurses of the sick.

The hospital idea did not, of course, originate with Guy and his disciples. To care for the sick—a precept of charity—is as old as Christianity, but it was by means of his order that he reformed the old methods and made popular the new, thus laying the foundations of that civic-ethical institution which in its fuller development is a crowning achievement of modern civilization.

The Hospitallers were under the special protection of Rome; they observed a rule composed by their founder, and were authorized to open branch houses which shared in the same privileges as the mother hospital.

Among the houses directed by the Hospitallers at the time of their first approbation were the two Roman Hospitals of Our Lady across the Tiber and of St. Agatha at the entrance of the city. These houses were far from sufficient to meet the needs of so large a community.

Additional hospital facilities were sorely needed. And the horrid evil of infanticide then gangrening the social body had to be checked.[9] Innocent, with his characteristic promptness, decided to erect an additional institution sufficiently ample in scope to satisfy all humanitarian needs that clamored for redress.

He selected for its location the Leonine quarter—a section which is now known as the Borgo Santo-Spirito and embraces the right bank of the Tiber from the Bridge St. Angelo to the south colonnade of St. Peter's. In the days of old it constituted an English settlement known as the Schola Saxonum.

In 715, Ina, one of the Saxon heptarchs, built them a church, which they dedicated to the Mother of God.[10] He himself made a pilgrimage to Rome in 718, and in memory of his visit added a hospice to the church.

Later on, Offa, a ruler of the Mercians, had other buildings added and endowed the whole plant. These pious foundations were badly damaged by fire in 817 and again in 847, and during the war between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines they were practically demolished. The property which they once occupied, as well as the endowments, were now at the disposal of the Sovereign Pontiff. They could be put to no better use than the erection of the proposed hospital and foundling asylum.

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[8] "Le Messager du St. Esprit," October, 1906; p. 301.

[9] Cf., Helyot, Vol. II., col. 206-207; Lucae, "Holstenii Cod. regularum observationibus critico-historicis a M. Brockie," illustratus Tom. V., p. 499.

[10] "Ecclesia Sanctae Dei Genitricis Virginis Mariae in Sassia."

The year 1204 brought both sorrow and joy to the founder of the Hospitallers. It brought sorrow by the death of his brother and the passing of the ancestral estate to Peter of Aragon, the son-in-law of the last of the Guillems, and joy by an invitation from the Pope, his august patron, to repair to Rome with a colony of his Hospitallers to take charge of the new institution in the Leonine quarter.

Guy took with him six companions. They were truly seven gifts of the Holy Ghost to the population of Rome. On July 19, 1204, the Sovereign Pontiff published a Bull, which was in reality the second charter and constitution of the rapidly developing order. Innocent evidently united in this document the riper experience of the founder and such canonical regulations as his wisdom judged best calculated to secure the stability and success of the foundation.

The Bull is addressed to Guy, Master of the Hospitallers of St. Mary in Saxia and of the Holy Ghost in Montpellier; it provides as follows: A hospital is erected in St. Mary of the Saxons; a community of Hospitallers is established; four priests are attached to the new institution; they, too, must make profession in the order, and are subject to the Sovereign Pontiff; the houses of Rome and Montpellier are united under one government; there is to be one master general for both houses; the members enjoy exemption and can be excommunicated by the Pope only; the Italian province can solicit alms in Italy, Sicily, England and Hungary (France and Germany are left to the French); in localities under interdict only one collection is to be taken up; the collectors are under the protection of the Holy See; interdicts are not to affect funerals of the Hospitallers; the farms and vineyards owned by the order are exempt from tithes; they are authorized to open oratories and burial grounds; in matters of the sacraments they are subject to the Ordinaries; in case of general interdict they are to conduct divine services privately; that is, without ringing bells and the church doors closed; novices are to make a year's novitiate; professed members cannot withdraw from the order without permission from the master general; turbulent members can be dismissed on the request of the majority of a chapter; members are exempt from all ecclesiastical and secular allegiance; in conclusion, Innocent recommends the work to the paternal solicitude of his successors.[11]

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[11] "Bullarium Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum" Taur. Edit. Tom. III., p. 189 et seq.

The name, St. Mary in Saxia, was soon changed into that of Santo-Spirito in Sassia. We cannot fix the time of this change. Neither can we tell why the Hospitallers were dedicated to the Divine Spirit, especially at an epoch when devotion to the Blessed Virgin enjoyed phenomenal popularity among the people. It is true, works of mercy are generally appropriated to the Holy Paraclete, but in the present case we incline to the conjecture that the favorite devotion of the founder was a determining factor of his choice.

If we examine his coat-of-arms we find it to consist of two fields. The one on the right is devoted to the Hospitallers, and the one on the left to the family of the Guillems. The right half consists of a white cross of twelve points in sable. Above it is a dove-emblem of the Holy Ghost, in a cloud of silver over a foundation of gold. The left half consists of a disc in gules on white, the family symbol of the Lords of Montpellier.

The chapel of the new hospital was dedicated to the Divine Spirit, possibly at the suggestion of Pope Innocent. He was deeply devoted to the Holy Ghost. Some think it was he that composed the immortal sequence, "Veni Sancte Spiritus."[12]

Innocent watched over Santo-Spirito with fatherly love and solicitude and missed no opportunity to further its interests. On January 3, 1208, he raised its chapel to the dignity of a station and endowed it with the same indulgences as the great basilicas of Rome.[13] He, moreover, organized for its benefit a corps of lay auxiliaries known as the Confraternity of the Holy Ghost.[14]

In the decree of erection the Pontiff directs that on the Sunday after the octave of Epiphany the Holy Sudarium, commonly known as Veronica's Veil, be carried processionally from St. Peter's to Santo-Spirito, accompanied by Cardinals and other dignitaries; that the chief pastor himself pontificate and preach at the hospital; that there be a distribution of alms to the 300 inmates and to 1,000 other poor; that each of these receive three denarii—one for bread, one for meat and one for wine; in conclusion, he requests his successors to observe the same.[15]

Great must have been the joy that inundated the soul of the venerable grandmaster at the sight of such tokens of appreciation from the very Vicar of Christ on earth. Greater still and more lasting joy was to be his before the year had run half its course.

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[12] Cf., "Dictionary of Hymnology," Julian; p. 1236.

[13] "Bullarium," Tom. III., Ex. Baluz, Ep. 179.

[14] Morichini, "Degli Instituti Di Publica Carita * * * in Roma," Vol. I., p. 39.

[15] Epis. Innoc. III., Paris, 1682; Tom. II., p. 98; Lib. X., Ep. 179.

Guy appeared on the stage of life ready-made and equipped for his special mission. At the psychological moment he starts a new movement in the ethic-social sphere. He stands by to direct its course until it is well launched, then, as his appearance was—unheralded and serene—so is his departure. He appears in silhouette, as it were, against the sky of a new day. He fades from sight as soon as the dawn bursts into dazzling light.

All we know of his death is that sometime during the first half of the year 1208—seemingly in the spring—full of good works and merits, he went to his eternal reward. For on June 10 Innocent III., in a Bull addressed to the Hospitallers, refers to Guy's death at Rome as a recent event.[16]

In this communication, Innocent, in compliance with their request, made Santo-Spirito the head of the Hospitallers and its rector, superior general of the whole order. He also approved the election of P. de Granerio as master general.

The first body of Hospitallers consisted exclusively of men. But about the time of the founder's death a female branch developed. This departure was in perfect keeping with the tastes of the time. For most of the leading types of religious life provided for members of both sexes, as we see in the case of the Benedictans, Carthusians, Dominicans and Franciscans.

Speaking of the pontificate of Innocent III., Cardinal Morichini[17] says: "There was added to the Hospitaller Brothers of Rome a female branch, also known as the Nuns of St. Tecla. They observed the same rule as the Brothers. In the early days of their existence their chief occupation was the care of foundlings. But they also shared in the nursing of the sick, according to accepted usage. Later their services were restricted to the care of orphans and foundlings." It was in this capacity that they were first employed in Santo-Spirito. They received the title of St. Tecla because their convent was attached to a church which was dedicated to the first Christian female martyr. They were also known as the Sisters of the Holy Ghost, or simply as the Hospitallers.

Innocent III. died June 16, 1216. He was succeeded by Honorius III. The new Pontiff judged the union between Montpellier and Rome to be detrimental to the Italian province, so he ordered their separation May 13, 1217. The decree is addressed to Cinthius, the master general; it repeats and confirms certain obligations and privileges of the Hospitallers; Santo-Spirito is received under the special protection of the Holy See; its master is subject to the Pope only.

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[16] "Bullarium," Tom. III., pp. 215-216.

[17] "Roma Antica et Moderna," Vol. I., p. 278.

Materially the severance of the two provinces brought on a number of controversies. Montpellier felt hurt and asserted its seniority. On March 15, 1229, Gregory IX. directed that henceforth the order was to have a Cardinal-protector; that Santo-Spirito was its mother house; that Montpellier depended on Rome, but was allowed to collect alms in France, Navarre and Germany. The Bull was addressed to John, rector of Santo-Spirito.[18]

Matters do not seem to have moved smoothly, for in 1254 Alexander IV. annexed the archhospital to the Italian province. By this act Montpellier was subordinated completely to the Roman commander and even lost the right to collect alms.

The French were loath to comply with demands that seemed unjust and harsh to them. But Rome was well justified in making them, as we shall see. Gregory X. (1271-1276) insisted that they submit and assign their revenues to Santo-Spirito. At last they gave in, as we learn from a document by Nicholas IV., on June 20, 1291. As a sign of their submission they paid an annual tribute of three pieces of gold.[19]

It was natural that in France Guy's work should develop with great rapidity and bear fruit of genuine excellence. Means and vocations abounded. Would that it had been likewise blessed with firm steersmen and brainy financiers. This seems to have been the weak side of the French province.

In imitation of the military orders, the Hospitallers followed the system of grouping their manors and other landed possessions into distinct commanderies. They frequently appointed laymen over these commanderies, who, abusing the trust committed to them, took advantage of the position to enrich themselves. This caused untold misery to the religious.

Their temporalities were regarded by canon law as possessions of the Church. As such they were free from tax and under the protection of the Holy See. This is why Honorius III., on May 13, 1217, ruled that these unjust stewards be first admonished, and if they continued contumacious, be adjudged guilty before God and denied Holy Communion.[20]

Another evil the Hospitallers had to contend against was the tendency of bestowing their hospitals and dependencies as benefices on clerics. This abuse was checked in 1336 by the Council of Clermont.

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[18] "Bullarium," Tom. III., p. 443.

[19] Helyot, Tom. III., p. 204.

[20] "Bullarium," Tom. III., p. 320.

The administration of their temporalities continued vexatious and unsatisfactory. For a time it was entrusted to a body of lay trustees known as the "Militia" or "Knights of the Holy Ghost." This experiment was a failure, too. Members of this organization would take over the estates and pay the order a stipulated sum in return. Instead of controlling the lay element, the seculars soon controlled the Hospitallers. The knights grew in power and insolence. They were the dominant element in the order for many years and managed to extend their body and influence even to other countries.

In 1459 Pius II. found himself forced to intervene. A radical remedy had to be administered. The knights were officially suppressed and their doubtfully acquired possessions turned over to the Order of Our Lady of Bethlehem.

To make assurance doubly sure and prevent all lay intrusion in the future, Sixtus IV., in 1476, decreed that only professed Hospitallers could be appointed to any commandery or post of trust in the order.

The name of Sixtus IV. shall ever shine in the history of the Hospitallers as one of their foremost patrons. It was his good fortune to realize the dream of Innocent III., which was to make Santo-Spirito a centre where Christian charity could gather under her wings every form of human misery and pain.

The original buildings and equipments of the archhospital were no longer adequate and suitable to satisfy the needs and demands of the growing city. Of this Sixtus was convinced.

Accordingly, he decided to rebuild it on a larger and more magnificent scale. Along the right bank of the Tiber he erected the principal building, a splendid sample of early Renaissance. Its length was pleasingly broken in the middle by an imposing octagonal dome. The interior was enhanced with niches and frescoes, the latter depicting scenes from the life of Sixtus.

A covered gallery was added to the main hall by which arrangement accommodations were secured for 1,200 priests. Besides the principal ward, there was a special lodge for surgical cases, an asylum for the insane, a nursery for foundlings, a protectory for boys, a similar institution for girls, a home for the aged, an apartment for the Hospitallers, a residence for the commander and his household of chaplains, surgeons and nurses. There was also a well equipped operating room, a pharmacy reputed the best in the city and a splendid collection of works on medicine, which in the course of time developed into the celebrated library, Biblioteca Lancissiana. At times this unique colony on the Tiber had a population little short of 5,000 souls.

Improvements on such a scale necessarily entailed expenses correspondingly great. To raise the required funds Sixtus decided to interest the laity by reorganizing the old Confraternity of the Holy Ghost.

The lay association had declined with the death of Innocent III. Eugene IV. (1431-1447) during his pontificate attempted to revive it, but it took the tact and skill of Sixtus to place it once more in a flourishing condition.

On March 21, 1477, he opened its register to all the faithful. Up to this it had been a men's society only. Sixtus himself and the members of the Sacred College now joined it and inscribed their names. The most illustrious personages of Europe followed their examples. Non-residents of Rome registered by proxy. In the course of time the Book of the Confraternity, as the register was called, became a remarkable collection of signatures.

Ferdinand Gregorovius, writing to Virchow November 14, 1877, said: "I was delighted to learn that you explored the archives of Santo-Spirito. I remember having seen the register of the confraternity, which is a remarkable collection of autographs. It covers mainly the period of Sixtus IV. The most illustrious men of Europe had themselves received into the confraternity. I had hoped to find the name of Copernicus also, but was disappointed."

The offerings made by the sodalists were consigned to the hospital fund. For their temporal alms the faithful were requited by favors of the spiritual order. They enjoyed privileges similar to those granted during the great jubilees. The Pope also granted them a plenary indulgence for the hour of death.

Deceased associates were buried with special honors. The corpse was shrouded in a particular habit, four torch-bearers and sixteen sodalists attired in funeral camises accompanied the body to the grave. Mass was said for all the deceased members every Monday and in honor of the Holy Ghost, and for the living on Thursdays.

On Pentecost the celebration began with the exposition of the Holy Sudarium at the basilica of St. Peter's. A procession was then formed in which the Sovereign Pontiff participated. Relics of St. Andrew, St. Paul and St. Katharine were carried in the procession. On reaching Santo-Spirito either the Pope or one of the Cardinals pontificated and preached.[21]

In 1513 Leo X. introduced some modifications and changed the name of the confraternity into that of "Della Carita."

Sixtus IV., like his predecessor, watched over the organic well-being of the order. On February 11, 1483, he addressed a letter to Pio de Ruvere, in which he directed that the members elect their superior, subject to the approval of the Holy See; that the orphans be treated in a paternal way; that the female Hospitallers share in the immunities and privileges of the Cassinesians of St. Justina; that the order have a Cardinal-protector.[22]

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[21] Cf., "Bullarium," Tom. V., pp. 246-290.

A brief survey of the mode of life observed by the Hospitallers has its place here. Their life was based on the traditional principles of religious discipline.

According to Le Saumier, Eugene IV. made the order follow the rule of St. Augustine. This was about the year 1440. The chaplains formed a community of canons-regular. The correction of this category was reserved to the Cardinal-protector.[23]

The lay Brothers and Sisters at first observed the rule of their founder, but later on it was practically replaced by that of St. Augustine. The oldest edition of their rules and constitutions extant is that of 1564. They were promulgated by Bernardine Cyrillus. The introduction states that they are conformed to the old rule and contains the following preamble: "Freely we have offered ourselves to God the Holy Ghost, to the Blessed Virgin and to our masters, the sick (dominis infirmis), that we may be their perpetual servants, having promised by oath and solemn vow, by a free act of our will, no one compelling us (to observe) chastity, poverty, obedience and humble patience."[24]

The two branches formed but one organization and were governed by the same code of regulation, under one and the same commander. "The rule binds alike the Brothers and Sisters, because in a community of the Holy Ghost it would be unbecoming if the admission and discipline of members differed."[25]

Spiritual exercises, study, labor, recreation—everything was regulated. Members were not permitted to leave their community unaccompanied or remain away overnight. Neither might they when out accept anything except water. In the fifteenth century the order reached its zenith. It then directed approximately a thousand establishments and numbered over 10,000 professed members.

They recited the Roman office. Candidates made a year's novitiate in some house of the order. They held an annual chapter at Pentecost. The grandmaster was empowered to visit and direct the establishments of the order. But it does not seem that this right was exercised. Tarrugi da Monte Pulciano, who was commander from 1595-1601, is the only one that visited the houses and kept a record of the visitations.

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[22] "Bullarium," Tom V., p. 289.

[23] Cf., Chap. xxvi., "Reg. Hosp. Sp. Sti."

[24] Migne, "Dict. Rel.," Vol. II., col. 218.

[25] Chap. xcvii.

If a Brother or Sister contracted leprosy, they were not to be dismissed, but cared for as any other patient.

The city of Halle as early as 1241 had a hospital of the Holy Ghost for infectious cases.[26] It was likely to a house of this kind that members so afflicted would be transferred.

The costume of the Hospitallers in the earlier years of their organization seems to have been a wide habit without cincture. It was supplied with a cowl. In a volume printed A. D. 1600 a Hospitaller is represented in such a garb. His beard is shaven, but his locks are long. In his right hand he holds a bunch of keys.[27]

Later on a more distinctive uniform was adopted. The Sisters wore a plain habit tightened to the waist by a girdle, the veil and the mantle. To the habit and mantle were attached the white cross of the order. The professed chaplains continued to wear the ordinary ecclesiastical dress of the country in which they lived.

To the soutane and mantle was affixed a patriarchal cross of twelve points—the distinctive badge of the order.

In France the canons when at office wore with the surplice a small blue-edged cape. On the left arm they wore an ornament called an "aumusse." It represented the maniple. In Italy the choir dress was nearly the same. In Poland they used a violet mosette.

We have mentioned the badge of the Hospitallers. It consisted of an upright and two parallel bars. The edges were so cut as to form in all twelve points. The significance of the twelve points is not known. This form of this cross seems to date from the introduction of Christianity into Gaul. The perpendicular bar, it is claimed, represents St. Lazarus, and the two horizontal ones his sisters, Martha and Mary. A somewhat similar cross is found in our days in connection with sanitary advertisements. Might it be a vestige of the badge of the pioneer Hospitallers?

The commanders wore the same kind of cross, but it was made of gold. The center was enameled azure and ornamented with a golden dove emblem. In choir they wore violet, in keeping with their rank.

In Italy the nuns were eventually excluded from curing the sick. Accordingly, they restricted their labors to the care of orphans and foundlings. They had establishments in Tivoli, Formelli, Tolentin, Vitterbo, Ancona, Eugubio, Florence, Ferrara, Alexandria and Murcia.[28]

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[26] Dreikaupt, "Chronik des Saalkreises," Halle, 1750; Bd. I. S. 952.

[27] Cf., Johann Wolfii, "Lectionum Memorabilium;" Centenarii xvi., p. 740.

[28] Migne, "Dict. Relig.," Vol. II., col. 220.

At Santo-Spirito the girls were kept, as a rule, until ready either to marry or to consecrate their lives to God as Oblates. In either event the house gave them a modest dowry.

The boys on reaching a certain age were transferred to a trade school in Viterbo. Those who made good, after mastering a trade and serving a while as apprentices, were helped to set up little shops of their own.[29]

During the pontificate of Innocent X. (1644-1655) the co-existence of male and female Hospitallers in Italy began to grate on Italian conventionalities. Yielding to popular bias, Alexander VII. (1655-1667) abolished the female branch for Italy.[30]

The French Hospitallers, male and female, toiled side by side, as we see in the houses of Besancon, Dijou, Montpellier, Poligny and Stephanfeld. In some cases they had distinct establishments, as, for instance, at Bar-sur-Aube, in Neuf-Chateau.

Neuf-Chateau merits special notice. It was founded in the lifetime of Guy, and continued to prosper under the supervision of his disciples until 1760. After that the Sisters continued their work under secular direction, weathering by their tact and devotedness even the great Revolution.

They were less fortunate during the stormy period that terminated in the revolt of 1848. On March 1, 1842, the people whom they had served so long and so loyally demanded their banishment. Deeply pained, but not daunted, the six survivors withdrew to Rouceux, a municipality in the Vodges district.

Ten years later Bar-sur-Aube, having recovered from its ultra-democratic fever, recalled the Sisters. In 1860 they numbered thirty-two members. They conducted small houses of education for poor girls, mostly orphans, at Bar-sur-Aube, Rouceux, Busseng and Poligny. We have been unable to ascertain if this glorious shoot of a once glorious tree escaped the blows aimed by modern infidel France against Christ and His own.

Poland had several communities. The first was that of Pradnik, founded in 1221. Twenty-three years later it was transferred to Cracow. A few houses were likewise started in Spain and in India.

England, strange to say, never possessed a house of the order. the Hospitallers of Jerusalem and the Knights Templars were the only representatives of this type of religious recorded for Great Britain.[31]

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[29] "Roma antica et moderna," Roma, 1750; Tom. I., p. 120.

[30] Morichini, op. cit., Vol. I., p. 94.

[31] "Monasticon Anglicanum," History of the Abbies, Hospitals, etc., in England and Wales; Sir William Dugdale; eight volumes; London, 1846.

But King John donated the estate of St. Michael of Wintele to Santo-Spirito. At first an annual gift of 100 marks was given and later the property transferred to the order. It was formally accepted by Honorius III., January 3, 1218.[32]

Virchow, on examining old inventories of Santo-Spirito in 1871, found that besides the above other properties in Scofrath and Wimpin had been donated to the archhospital.

We now come to the houses of Germany. Shortly after Guy of Montpellier's appearance every large and small city of Germany had its Holy Ghost Hospital and chapel.[33]

Thanks to the indomitable industry and the untiring researches of Virchow, we know more of the German establishments than we do of all the others in Christendom combined. These studies are incorporated in a series of essays on public medicine and infectious diseases.[34]

Co-eval with the Montpellier foundation, and possibly even prior to it, there were some hospitals in Germany that were dedicated to the Divine Spirit. Volz places in this category the Holy Ghost Hospitals of Freiburg, in Breisgau, Pfullendorf, Breisach and Ueberlingen.[35]

He accepts that the Freiburg house existed as early as 1120. And as regards that of Memming, it is certain that it was erected in 1010 by Henry, Lord of Kirchheim and Weissenhorn.[36]

The Heiliggeistspital of Bremen may have belonged to this class, too. There was attached to it a church of the Holy Ghost. In 1236 a quarrel arose over it between the cathedral chapter and the Deutschorden, members of which had taken charge of the hospitals and claimed a right on the church.[37] The Red Star Crusaders of Inowraclow in 1268 directed a church and hospital of the Holy Ghost, which belonged to the Matthiasstift in Breslau.[38]

In Germany both branches of the Hospitallers labored in the same establishments. The records (for 1288-1304) of Halberstadt speak of a hospital conducted by converse Brothers and Sisters of the Holy Ghost.[39]

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[32] "Bullarium," Tom. III., pp. 335-336.

[33] Cf., Burdett, "Hospitals and Asylums of the World," London, 1893; Vol. III., p. 512.

[34] "Gesammelte Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Offentlichen Medicin, und der Seuchlenlehre," von Rudolf Virchow; Zwei Bander; Zweiter Band; Berlin, 1879.

[35] Das Spitalwesen und die Spitaler des Grossherzogthmus Baden; Karlsruhe, 1861; S. 10.

[36] Cf., Schelhorn, Kleine Historische Schriften; Memming, 1789; S. 237.

[37] Cf., Schumacher, in Bremisches Yahrbuch, 1865; Bd. I. S. 184.

[38] Wuttke, Stadtebuch des Landes, Posen, S. 326.

[39] Cf., G. A. von Mulverstedt: Was there a monastery in Bukan, near Magdeburg? P. 23.

The Hospital of Rothenburg, on the Tauber, had a master and a mistress (meinisterin) in charge of the staff. And at Aalborg there was a prior with thirteen Brothers and a prioress with twenty-three Sisters.[40]

In 1183 the Knight Wittebeg gave the Michaelsberg, near Ulm, to the monastery of Reichenau for hospital purposes. A body of canons of St. Augustine organized the work. It developed into the Ulmer Heiliggeistspital.[41] That both branches of the Hospitallers were represented in this house is clear from the regulations that governed it. In 1376 its Brothers were honored with the cross of the Hospitallers of Mount Sinai.

The Memminger Hospital was likewise conducted by a mixed organization, which was founded in 1093 at Vienne, in Dauphany, but amalgamated later with the Holy Ghost. They began their work with a hospice for travelers. In 1178 this was enlarged into a hospital. In 1215 Friedrich II. bestowed on the mother house of these religious the right of patronage for Memmingen.[42]

Most of the hospitals not directly founded by the followers of Guy were converted into Holy Ghost institutions in the course of time.

The Hospital An den Schwellen at Basel was founded prior to 1265, but was not affiliated to the Hospitallers until 1409.[43]

The oldest hospital of Mayence was erected near the Domkirche. In 1145 Archbishop Heinrich conveyed its management to the canons of Gottshal, in Rheingau. In 1236 Archbishop Sifrid transferred it to the Rhine, near the Gereonskapelle. At the same time he entrusted its direction to the Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost.[44]

The Hospitallers of Elburg, founded in 1242, and also that of Thorn, were dedicated to the Holy Ghost. The Deutsche Orden exercised patronage over both.[45]

At the end of the fourteenth century there were over 150 Holy Ghost hospitals in Germany. We give the list compiled by Virchow. The date indicates the year of the foundation, or the year in which a preëxisting hospital was converted into a Holy Ghost institution, or the time when such a house is first mentioned in history:

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[40] Munster, Kirchengesch von Daenemark und Norwegen, Vol. II., S., 656, cited by Hurter, Ch. Hist., Vol. IV., p. 227.

[41] Virchow, Archiv., Bd. XVIII., S. 296.

[42] Cf., Joseph Fohr, von Hormayr-Hortenburg, Die Goldene Chronik von Hohen-Schwangen; Munich, 1842; p. 56.

[43] Virchow Archiv., 1860; Bd. XVIII., S. 294.

[44] Schaab, Gesch; Mainz; Vol. II., S. 173.

[45] Virchow Archiv., 1861; Bd. XX., S. 460.

1207	Zurich
1228	St. Gallen
1233	Bern

1225	Constanz
1257	Villingen
1275	Pfullendorf (twelfth century)
1297	Freiburg in Br. (1120)
	Breisach (twelfth century)
	Thirteenth century, Meersburg
1322	Pforzheim
1363	Neberlingen (twelfth century)
1386	Radolfzell
1411	Waldshut

1204	Brandenburg
1214	Spandau
1231	Salzwedel
1251	Stendal
1278	Berlin (1272)?
1299	Perleberg
1300	Pritzwalk
1309	Wittstock
1313	Werben
1319	Gardelegen
1321	New Ruppin
1343	Grausee
1363	Prenzlau
1377	Angermunde
	Havelburg
1390	Treuenbriezen
	Seehausen
	Frankfort a. O.
	Konigsberg i. Neum.
	Muncheberg
	Orderberg
1553	Kyritz

1214	Breslau
1261	Bunzlau
1264	Gorlitz
1273	Brieg
1275	Glatz

1220	Stephansfelder
1230	Oppenheim
1236	Mainz
1272	Speyer
1422	Nieder Ingelheim

1238	Coblenz (on the Leer)
1286	Coln
1291	Crefeld
1344	St. Goar (?)
1355	Meyen

1209	Halberstadt
1241	Halle
1246	Guedlinburg
1267	Helmstedt
1284	Magdeburg

	Krakow
	Crivitz
1237	Stettin
1256	Stralsund
1262	Greilswald
1269	Demmin
1272	Anclam
1309	Barth
1311	Stolp (vor den Thor)
1319	Coslin
1325	Treptow a Toll.
1364	Stargard
1368	Gollnow
1369	Schivelbein
	Helgard
	Colberg
	Rugenwalde
	Byritz
	Damm
	Treptow a. R.
	Wollin
	Uckermunde
	Pasewalk
	Greifenhagen

1242	Elbing
	Thorn

1263	Sagan
1240	Ulm
1258	Biberach
	Rothenburg a.-n.
	Kirchheim
	Mergentheim
1291	Wimpfen and Reutlingen
1322	Markgronnigen
1223	Memmingen (1010)
1252	Augsburg
1281	Rothenburg a Tauber
1291	Munchen
1319	Wurzburg
1331	Nurnberg
1349	Melrichstadt
	Weilheim
1355	Aub
1358	Passan
	Straubing
	Dinkelsbsbuhl
1451	Eichstadt

1278	Frankfort a.-M.
1358	Limburg a. L.
	Fritzlar

1218	Hoxter
1280	Dortmund

1290	Steinau (1209)
1296	Glogan
1302	Ober-Benthen
1320	Freistadt
1343	Strehlen
1451	Kohen
	Namslau
	Luben
1268	Moroclaw (?)
1209	Wien
	Brixen
	Sterzing

1292	Sangerhausen
	Eisenach
	Naumburg
1301	Wittenburg
1256	Hanover
1300	Gottingen
	Northeim

1236	Bramen
1247	Hamburg
1465	Rendsburg
1334	Lubeck

1218	Parchim
1250	Wismar
1260	Rostock
1298	Schwerin
	Mollen
	Oldeslo
	Ratzeburg
1299	Ribnitz
1361	Gadebusch
1363	Stargard in Mekl.
1370	Plau
Fourteenth century	Sternberg
1555	Neu Brandenburg
1577	Robel
1256	Konigsberg
	Danzig
	Marienburg
1396	Pr. Holland
1510	Riesenburg

1225	Riga
1376	Reval

During the Reformation many of these houses were changed into municipal hospitals (Burgerspitaeler). The Burgerspital of Wurzberg, Bern and other cities were formerly Holy Ghost Hospitals. In some cases the original name was retained. The Holy

Ghost Hospital of Berlin, which until 1885 occupied a site on the Heiligen strasse, is an example.

Houses were not necessarily laicized by the change of the directorate. The ecclesiastical authorities of Basel, for instance, directed the Holy Ghost Hospital of that city to be handed over to the secular administration.

Even before the sixteenth century cases are on record where the civil authorities took a part in the management of hospitals entrusted to the Hospitallers. In 1487 the municipality of Schassburg (Liebenburgen) and the officials of the Antonius Orden of Hungary agreed that after the death of the rector the city council be empowered to name his successor.

The Hospital of Hermanstadt (Liebenburgen) and the Councillors of the city clashed during the administration of Pietro Mattei de Capucinis (1443-1478). The master general appealed to the local Bishop, who took up the case in 1456. Peace was temporarily restored. Later Matthew, King of Hungary, also intervened, taking the side of the city against the rector.

Another case is found in the history of the Holy Ghost Hospital of Rostock. The canonical rights of this house were supplemented by additional favors granted it by the Prince-Bishop Hermann von Schwerin. The rector of Rostock could invite any clergyman he wished to preach on feast days, which was a restriction, of course, on the local chaplains.

In the course of time a number of suburban hospitals were changed into retreats of well-to-do, retired persons. Thus originated the "Pfrunderanstalten." People of means selected these houses to spend the evening of life. Vacancies were quickly purchased as soon as available. Some of the hospitals were converted into lazar houses.

For exact information on the conditions of each house, the individual charters and annals must be studied. The earliest houses in Germany depended on Montpellier, and with it, when it lost its self-government, they passed under the authority of Santo-Spirito in Rome. The Italian commander appointed the local superiors and rectors. As a token of dependence a small annual tribute was imposed.

A record dated 1207 states that Innocent III. confirmed the foundation of the Hospital of Zurich and imposed an annual tax of one gold gulden to be rendered to Santo-Spirito.[46]

The same Pontiff in 1209 confirmed the Holy Ghost Hospital of Halberstadt. It was the gift of the Count of Blankenburg. A tax of two silver marks was imposed.[47]

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[46] Schopflin, Historia Zaringo; Badensis V., p. 131.

[47] Epist. Innoc. III., p. 164, lib. XI., Ep. 69.

A tribute of one mark was paid by a Holy Ghost chapel near Vienna.[48]

The house of Pforzheim was founded September 16, 1323, by the Margrave Rudolf and his wife. It was under the direct jurisdiction of Santo-Spirito.

Tribute was sometimes paid by branch houses to the parent hospital. The Hospital of Hermanstadt, already alluded to, was subject to the house of Ofen, and with it, under the jurisdiction of Vienna, to which it paid an annual tax of "one mark or four ducats."[49]

The insane asylum of Stephansfelden, in Alsace, was formerly a Holy Ghost Hospital. The Counts of Werdlen erected a house for indigents and foundlings sometime prior to 1220. At an early date it was entrusted to the Hospitallers.[50] A number of filial houses depended on Stephansfelden. Among them was Memmingen.[51] Memmingen, in turn, assumed the management of Wimpen about the year 1650. An annual tax of seven pieces of gold was paid for the two houses.[52]

The oldest Holy Ghost Hospital of Germany is that of Brandenburg. It is mentioned as early as 1204.[53] Zurich was founded in 1207, Halberstadt and Wien in 1209, Spandau and Breslau in 1214, Riga in 1225, Lubeck in 1234 and Hamburg in 1247. It would seem that there were some in the Duchy of Baden prior to 1204, but the claims cannot be sufficiently substantiated by records. A review covering the territory now embraced by the German empire shows that there were at least fifty Holy Ghost Hospitals in 1291.[54]

But to return to France. By the end of the fourteenth century there were, it is claimed, over 400 houses of the order. Their history was never written. Rorbacher, for instance, does not even mention this great movement, though his history consists of twelve large volumes. Information from other sources is likewise deploringly scant. The Sardinian troops looted the archives of Santo-Spirito on entering Rome in 1870 and destroyed many documents that no doubt contained much valuable information.

The French Hospitallers were chiefly disturbed by the evil of lay intrusion. Sixtus IV. managed to check it in 1476. But then came the Reformation, which in France took the form of Calvinism.

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[48] Epist. Inn. III., p. 219, lib. XI., Ep. 169.

[49] Fried. Muller, Geschichte der Liebenburgischen Hospitaler bis Zum Yahre, 1625; Wien, 1858; S. 27.

[50] Schopflin, Alsatia illustrata, 1761; T. II., p. 451.

[51] Cf., Schelhorn, Kleine Historische Schriften, Memming, 1789, S. 237.

[52] Brockie, Holstenii Cod. regul. V., p. 502.

[53] Riedel. Cod. diplom. Bd. VIII. Abth, I. S. 45.

[54] Virchow. op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 41.

In 1559 the followers of Calvin had seventy-two places of worship. They multiplied with great rapidity. Within two years they had over 2,000 churches. Men of the greatest prominence, such as Condé, Anthony of Bourbon and De Coligny, joined the ranks of the heretics. Within thirty years France had eight so-called "Wars of Religion." In the very first of these (March, 1562) the venerable foundation of Montpellier, the cradle of the Hospitallers, was mercilessly plundered and destroyed by these polished Huns.

Nearly a century later, in 1660, an attempt was made to rebuild it. But the work never went beyond the first stage. Grass and moss-covered patches of stonemasonry—pathetic traces of an abortive effort—were all that modern investigators could find.[55]

During the civil-religious war that rent France over the succession of Henry III., the order was sorely afflicted. In 1593, when Henry IV. abjured heresy and peace was restored, the French Hospitallers had lost nearly all their houses and were practically ruined.

Among the surviving members, Anthony Pons distinguished himself by his efforts to restore their lost fortunes. He seems to have been as injudicious as he was zealous, for his methods of recruiting members and raising funds aroused public indignation.

Spasmodic efforts were made by various individuals, always well intentioned, but unsuccessful in the end. On September 4, 1617, Oliver Trau de Tarrada secured the commandership for France and Navarre. He displayed great energy and determination. In 1619 Paul V. ratified his nomination on condition that he would make profession in the order. He was also encouraged by Gregory XV., and in 1625, aided by Louis XIII., who induced Urban VIII. to give back home rule and self-government to the French Hospitallers.

Unfortunately for De Tarrada, he sacrificed too much of the religious character of his society to secure its restoration and rehabilitation.

He revived the "Knights of the Holy Ghost" and also countenanced other irregularities, notably that of receiving members of other religious societies.

On September 25, 1646, Innocent IX. instructed the vice legate of Avignon and all Bishops of France to oblige such regulars as had joined the Hospitallers to return to their own orders.[56]

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[55] Cf., Publications de la Societe archeologique de Montpellier, 1859, No. 27; De la Charite publique et hospitaliere a Montpellier au moyen-age, 502, par M. A. Germain; also Guy de Montpellier; etude historique par l'Abbé Paulinier, Montpellier, 1870.

[56] Bullarium, Tom. XV., p. 65.

In 1656 M. Desecures was nominated master of Montpellier. His nomination was contested, but after some delay Alexander VII. approved it and he entered on office in 1659. He became involved in difficulties with the government and was finally exiled in 1668. It was during his administration the Hospitallers attempted to rebuild the archhospital of Pyla-Saint-Gely.

Desecures was banished, but could not be silenced. He clung to his title and defended it against Campon and De Bazoche, two rival claimants. De Bazoche had the support of the Crown.

To clear the situation a general chapter was convoked for April 27, 1671, but before it was held the Government nominee departed this life. Clement X. now took matters in hand, and in February, 1672, appointed Du Colombier on the condition of joining the order.

His appointment nettled the king. Taking advantage of the chaotic state of the order, he declared it extinct and assigned its revenues to the military order of St. Lazarus and Mount Carmel.

François Marie Phœbus was commander of Santo-Spirito during these events. Early in 1673 he appointed Du Colombier his vicar for France. The new vicar, a man of uncommon courage and energy, entered the lists against his royal antagonist and fearlessly attacked the decree of dissolution.

Finding him a stronger opponent than he expected, the king sent him to the Bastile for eight years.

Aroused but not frightened by this act of royal tyranny, the various detached and independent houses of the order united and under the standard of Parnajon, head canon of the French province, continued to fight for their existence. They argued that they depended on Santo-Spirito and that consequently the Crown had no jurisdiction over them or their temporalities. They were aided in their fight by De La Costa, the chief of the lay Knights of the Holy Ghost.

In 1689 and in 1690 the State reiterated its decree of dissolution and declared null and void whatever the Hospitallers had done since 1672. Some of the more resolute heads of hospitals continued to withstand the execution of the decree, applying to themselves that possession is nine points of the law. They admitted that Montpellier was dissolved, but they disclaimed all relationship with that community.

Their defense was resolute. It was more—it was politic. They knew the king's weakness for soldiers. They volunteered to raise for him a regiment at their own expense. Louis took the bait and wonderful to say, immediately saw their case in exactly the light in which they saw and defended it.

A chapter was convoked for February 15, 1692, at the Grand

Augustines in Paris, the chapel of the Royal Order of the Saint-Esprit. The Hospitallers were reorganized and in March of the following year they were officially recognized, as were their temporalities, by a royal decree.

Thibault de Montmorency, the new commander, perfected the organization and recast its rules and constitutions. Influenced by the Knights of the Holy Ghost, who had assisted in gaining the victory, Montmorency gave the restored order a distinctively military character.

The Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost now comprised "Ancient Knights," "First Officers of the Sword," "Knights of Honor," "Knights of Obedience," "Knights Servants" and "Knights Minor Officers."

An unholy traffic in brevets soon ensued. Diplomas were sold at fixed prices. It cost £400 to be a Knight Minor Officer or a Knight of Obedience or a Knight Servant. To be a Knight of Honor cost three times as much.

A reaction was bound to come. The old Hospitallers, who had taken the vows of religion, protested against these innovations. They denounced the laymen as intruders and innovators and demanded that a committee be appointed to investigate matters. Their request was granted. On May 10, 1700, the committee reported in favor of the religious. Whereupon Louis ordered De Montmorency to return his commission and rescinded all his official transactions.

The commander obeyed, and soon after—possibly as a result of the shock—departed this life. But not so the host of tinsel knights. They contested the latest decree and actually induced the monarch to reopen the case.

On January 1, 1701, Louis named a committee of eight to examine if the Hospitallers were religious in the ordinary sense or not. The most distinguished members of this committee were Père La Chaise, Bousset and Cardinal De Noailles.

They were very slow in their deliberations. In 1707 Paul Sigismond, a member of the Montmorency family, was authorized to engage a number of doctors of civil and canon law to study the same question. It was understood that he ambitioned the commandership. His lawyers gave as their opinion that since the order was a mixed body, consisting of laymen and religious, it could, like the military orders, be governed by a lay commander.

Such was their verdict. It provoked no opposition on the part of the Hospitallers. On the contrary, for reasons unsurmisable, they supported the candidacy of Montmorency. Their ranks were henceforth to be open to laymen, who would belong to the order on the score of obedience and hospitality and attend to the temporalities. The canons and religious were to continue the specific work of the society. The Hospitallers proper were to select from their numbers a grand prior, who was to have special jurisdiction over the professed and assist the lay commander in the general government of the society.

They were confident of approval. But, contrary to their expectations, Louis XIV. enforced the decision of May 10, 1700, on the ground that they were religious in the strict sense. This ended the controversy.

After the death of Louis XIV., as all students of history know, the star of French prestige waned with great rapidity. Religion felt the change. The spirit of darkness displaced the spirit of faith. Nature asserted herself in her worst moods. Vocations diminished. Religious apathy paralyzed the masses.

So impoverished were the Hospitallers in consequence, both as to numbers and to resources, that in 1760 the male branch became extinct and their establishments fell under secular control. During the great Revolution even the names—the last vestiges of the Hospitaller order—were with few exceptions obliterated.

Fortune was kinder to the Italian Hospitallers. Under the fostering care of the Sovereign Pontiffs they prospered and continued to flourish. Paul III., in 1540, added to the Roman archhospital the handsome Church of the Holy Ghost. It is a sample of Renaissance architecture and was designed by Antonio da Sangallo. It contains a bronze baldachino, which is ascribed to Palladio. The façade, with its dove emblem of the Holy Ghost over the entrance —the work of Mascherino—was built in 1587 by order of Sixtus V. The paintings and decorations of the interior were executed by Jacques Zucca, Live Agresti, Marcel Venusti and Paris Nogari. The brick campanile, with its virile corner pilasters, was erected under Sixtus IV. It is one of the noblest towers of early Renaissance.

These improvements and a notable diminution of alms during the pontificate of Julius III. (1550-1555) put the finances of the order into alarming conditions. The preceptor was replaced by a committee designed to relieve the situation. The new method did not succeed. On June 13, 1556, Paul V. restored the office of preceptor and appointed to it Francis Cappellus, a Veronese priest of great energy and business capacity.

In Session XXI. (chap. 8) the Council of Trent abolished the office of alms collector and forbade any one but the ordinaries to publish and apply to the faithful indulgences in the future. This regulation, whilst remedying certain serious abuses then rampant, incidentally reduced the income of many eleemosynary institutions. For their agents and collectors could no longer distribute spiritual favors in return for temporal alms.

The Hospitallers were greatly affected by this regulation, for their representatives had up to this enjoyed special faculties. Wolfius di Tabernis, a chronicler of the sixteenth century, records for 1435 that certain Knights of the Holy Ghost were located at Groning, in Wurtenburg; that they wore the Hospitaller cross; that they had faculties to absolve from all cases.

To help the Hospitallers, Pius IV., on October 11, 1564, revived such of their privileges as did not jar with the Tridentine regulations. Two members of any given chapter could collect alms. But they could receive no fee. The same Pope also reformed the business methods of Santo-Spirito and made new regulations for its notaries. He also canceled the privilege of exemption and made the hospitals dependent on the local ecclesiastical authorities. On account of the number of its inmates and their diversified conditions Santo-Spirito was often a party to legal transactions and proceedings. To safeguard the interests of the institution and remove certain otherwise unavoidable inconveniences, Clement VIII., on February 10, 1605, exempted it from all civil jurisdiction and directed that all future cases be tried before the Papal Vicar or his delegate.

Difficulties arose out of this new arrangement. These were covered by supplementary regulations put into effect on July 3, 1606, by Paul V. The same Pontiff, on December 13, 1605, directed Octavius Tassanus to open a savings bank for the benefit of the poor in connection with the hospital.

The charter of this bank—a document of translucent simplicity—provides for the safety of the deposits, authorizes certain investments, requires 2,000 scuti to be always available, forbids credit drafts on depositors, imposes weekly and annual statements.

The keys of its safe were three in number and held by the preceptor, the superintendent and the treasurer. The money chest could be opened only in the presence of these three officials.[57] This enterprise was a success financially and otherwise. The income for the hospital in 1624 was over 100,000 gold crowns (about $180,000).

During the eighteenth century the Hospitallers continued the even tenor of their good work. The marvelous apostolate of St. John the Baptist De Rossi (1698-1764) at Santo-Spirito during this time deserves notice.

De Rossi was idolized by the colony on the Tiber. He was all but worshiped by its consumptives, whose department was dedicated to St. Hyacinth. De Rossi had an individual key for their ward, so that he could enter at will. He spent so much time there that for a while it was feared that he had contracted the disease himself. But God spared him.

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[57] Bullarium, Tom. XI., pp. 251-255.

One day after making the usual rounds of the sick he started back home. He had advanced about 200 steps—just as far as the Bridge Saint-Angelo—when he felt inwardly moved to return to St. Hyacinth. He obeyed the impulse.

On reaching the door he met some men who were carrying a man on a stretcher. The patient was in the last stage of consumption. De Rossi, fixing his eyes on him, said solemnly, "Brother, are you ready?" With confusion the man answered that he was not. The saint then took him in tow, helped him to make his confession and gave him the last sacraments. A few days later the man died with signs of true compunction and resignation.

On another occasion, having visited St. Peter's, De Rossi started for La Trinite des Pelerins, which is on the far side of the Tiber. He did not intend to stop at Santo-Spirito, which is quite close to the south colonnade of the piazzi, and accordingly started in the opposite direction.

Strange to say, after having walked for some time, he found himself in the pharmacy of the hospital. On awakening to the reality of his surroundings, he noticed a patient who was evidently very low. Something told the saint that the man needed his services. He questioned him and in the end found out that the wretched fellow had received the last sacraments eleven times, but every time unworthily, because of a deliberately concealed sin which he was ashamed to confess. With his usual sweetness and tact, De Rossi straightened out the man's tangled condition and moved him to sorrow for the past. An hour later the fellow was dead.[58]

More remarkable still is the following episode. This time De Rossi started out with the intention of visiting the House of the Incurables. It was located in old Rome. To his astonishment he found himself in the Leonine quarter in front of Santo-Spirito. He did not enter, but once more started for the incurables. He walked briskly in the proper direction, as he thought, but lo and behold! he finds himself in the plaza of St. Peter's. This alarmed him. Was he losing his mind, or what was the matter? He entered the basilica for a short visit, and then, with his intention well renewed, he starts once more for the Hospital of the Incurables.

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[58] P. 198.

After proceeding for some distance, during which he pondered on this inexplicable incident, he discovered to his utmost surprise that he was approaching the main entrance of Santo-Spirito.

No wonder he was dazed. By degrees he mastered his feelings and paused to reflect. A groan issuing from the vestibule brought him to his full senses. On approaching he saw a youth with several ugly gashes in his head. He was bleeding profusely. To all appearances he was the victim of a brawl. Some one had dragged him to the hospital and left him there.

De Rossi summoned help and remained with the fellow until consciousness returned. His attentions were poorly acknowledged. As soon as the man realized his condition, he burst into a tempest of curses and invectives against heaven and earth. De Rossi prayed and waited until the infuriated Italian cooled down and grew more rational. "Forgive the scoundrel that had tried to kill him? No, never!" De Rossi was not disconcerted by this reply. He had a special facility to soften obstinate characters. To make the story short, the man eventually did forgive his enemy, received the sacraments and died soon after—saved by the mercy of God and the tact of the saintly De Rossi.[59]

The miracles of grace wrought by the Divine Spirit on souls during their sojourn with the Hospitallers would cover many volumes. Two other canonized saints besides St. John Baptist De Rossi were intimately connected with Santo-Spirito.

One of these was cheerfulness personified. He was a perfect charmer. Sometimes he would playfully put his old beretta on a patient and then laugh until every one within hearing distance would shake with mirth. When he sang, the sick forgot their pains and smiled with happiness. He had a way of giving people a little slap on the cheek that almost put them into ecstasy. When he spoke of the good God he fairly trembled with emotion. He had a peculiar lump on his left side. The knowing ones whispered that it came to him in the Catacombs whilst keeping vigil for Pentecost. A globe of fire had embodied itself in his side and pressed out several ribs. Yes, he was a jovial saint, this warm-hearted Padre Filipo del Neri.

One Sunday morning Cesare Baronius, the great annalist, came to St. Philip to go to confession. Philip would not hear him, but sent him to Santo-Spirito to visit the sick.

Baronius remonstrated, but in vain. Philip made him go. As he walked through one of the wards he found a dying man who had not had a chance to receive the sacrament of penance. Baronius heard his confession and gave him Communion. The man died immediately after.[60]

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[59] Pp. 199-200.

St. Philip was frequently accompanied in his visits by another priest, a man of soldierly bearing. He was not quite as demonstrative as Philip, but he could read the hearts of men like a book. His knowledge was more than speculative. Some of the old chaps smiled and gave an insinuating wink. Their surmises were not altogether unfounded, for Camillus de Lellis before his conversion had trod for a time the primrose path.

St. Camillus, it will be remembered, founded a society known as the Fathers of a Happy Death. Like their founder, they were greatly devoted to the sick at Santo-Spirito and spent much of their time with them.

During the pontificate of Leo XII. (1823-1829) a school of medicine was opened in connection with the archhospital. An idea of the work done at Santo-Spirito may be formed when we recall, for instance, that from 1831-1840 134,916 patients were received and nursed.

Of this number 123,461 were discharged and 11,455 died. The average mortality a year was 8.27 per hundred. During the same decade the orphan and foundling department housed 31,000 children.

Unrest and disaffection seized on the Italians of the Pontifical States during the early decades of the nineteenth century. In Italy, as nearly a century before in France, the hospitals now fell under secular control and the Hospitallers dwindled down to a corporal's guard. Monsignor Antoine Cioja, their last master general, and Dom Pierre Ziochini, his vicar, realized that their sun was set. Nobody was surprised, therefore, when Pius IX., on July 1, 1847, pronounced the dissolution of the order.[61]

The Hospitallers had directed Santo-Spirito for 643 years. Their grandmasters, beginning with Alexander Neroni in 1515, were generally Italian prelates. History has preserved the names of seventy of these. Peter Barbo, the nephew of Eugene IV., was the most distinguished of these. As Paul II. he later ruled the Church from 1464-1471. During the Papal government Santo-Spirito was open to all without discrimination. It was Catholic in its sympathies, like the Church that had given it existence.

Twelve canons cared for the spiritual needs of the inmates. Once a month additional priests, mostly religious, assisted in hearing confessions.

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[60] The Life of St. Philip Neri, edited by Autrobus, Vol. II., p. 3.

[61] Morichini, Degli insituti di Carita per la sussistenza et l'educazione dei poveri, in Roma; p. 111.

An atmosphere of piety and Christian resignation pervaded the institution. Pictures of a religious and cheerful character adorned the walls. Prayers were said at fixed periods, in which the "seignors malades," as the sick were styled, were urged to join.

Every department had its patron saint. The tubercular ward was named for St. Hyacinth. Its inmates observed his feast by special services and a modest banquet. On such occasions would be brought into requisition gifts sent by the Holy Father to his sick children.

There was music thrice a week during meals. On Sundays flowers, fruits and dainties were brought by callers that represented various benevolent associations.

The dead were laid to rest on the neighboring hill of the Janiculum. Delegates of the Bona Mors fraternity accompanied the body to the tomb to give it honorable burial.

With the change of government in 1870 came a change of executive policy for Santo-Spirito. Its religious character disappeared. It is now conducted on a purely secular basis. It is no longer a branch of the mighty tree that gave it being. The sap of Christian charity no longer flows in its limbs and sanctifies its ministrations. A staff of mercenaries replaces the community of devoted Hospitallers.

They are no more—the Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost—they have gone the way of all flesh. By the Tiber, at the foot of the Vatican Hill, stands their mutilated monument. It, too, in the course of time must disappear. Let it not be so with their memory. Let civilization remember the debt of gratitude it owes to these generous pioneers of the great hospital movement. Theirs was the heaviest, the task of beginning; they laid the foundation of the new system of aiding the sick and the afflicted. Let them share in the credit of its glory and success.

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THE CATHOLIC NOTE IN TENNYSON.

ONE of the most interesting of studies for the Catholic reader is to measure the writings of the great masters of literature by the standard of Catholic belief. In the case of Tennyson, all who have read the Victorian laureate even casually have time and again come across passages or references in his works that made them wonder at his Catholic sympathies. The general reader, however, by very force of time and circumstance rarely is able to do more than make pleasurable note of the fact that Tennyson—the Protestant spokesman of a distinctly Protestant country—seems often very friendly to us. He cannot investigate into the why and the wherefore of it, and he may even accept the fact as a mere accident. Yet there is good reason for it all.

To arrive at a clear idea of the significance of the Catholic note in Tennyson—or in any other modern writer of English literature—it is necessary for us first to run through a brief review of the literature of England, to trace its nature and character from the beginning, from the time of Caedmon, the poor monk of Whitby who sang of God and the creation and the beauty of Catholic belief, down through the centuries to the Reformation.

And what is the conclusion that such a review brings to us? Plainly this: that the Catholic note sounds all through our literature; that whether others like it or not, the Catholic note in the literature of any Christian country is inevitable. True, judging by externals, English literature, as we use the term to-day, is not Catholic; for, as Cardinal Newman tells us, the Reformation forced the literature of England away from its ancient holdings and turned its stream into an entirely new channel. But, if we go up stream, so to speak, and follow this channel back to its first source, we find not only that it flows originally from the great deep river of Catholic thought, but that some of the clear waters of the old stream still pour unsullied along its present course. It is these sparkling currents that we see running like silver threads through Tennyson's poetry.

In reality, the Catholic note in literature is inevitable. Truth is the essence of Catholic belief and, also, truth is the essence of literature; therefore, in the last analysis, our literature is and must be Catholic. In other words, when a poet gets down to the real foundations of life, down to the basic facts and questions of human existence, he is forced to turn to Catholic truth for the solution he is seeking. He may do this unwittingly, or he may do it unwillingly, or he may seize on Catholic traditions and beliefs merely to use them for decorative purposes. But Catholicity he cannot escape. This is demonstrated time and again in Tennyson. Tennyson did more than sing sweet songs and write grand epics; he probed down into the foundations of life—he reached for the heights and tried to measure the soul of man—and the deeper and the higher he went, the more Catholic he became.

Now Tennyson certainly was far from being a Catholic. The son of a Protestant clergyman, schooled in England's most English and most Protestant university, and eventually made poet laureate —the national spokesman—of a distinctly Protestant country, he was one whom we would expect, indeed, to be, if anything, more anti-Catholic than merely neutral or simply non-Catholic. He was the heir to all the bitter prejudices of three hundred years. So we need not be surprised if occasionally we find things in his writings unpleasant and unfair to Catholics—references to "Papists," and so forth. The wonder is that there is not more of them. As to this, it is interesting to make note of the words of a Catholic writer published many years ago while Tennyson was still living. "He regards as sacred whatever links the soul to a divine truth," this critic said. He has many friends who are Catholics, and we have heard that he has expressed sincere anxiety to publish nothing relative to the Catholic religion calculated to give offense to its followers."*

But whatever ill-sounding references to Catholic externals we may encounter in Tennyson, in his philosophy and in his feeling he is very strongly Catholic: and thus, against the tide of all his environments, his traditions and his prejudices, does he reach back to the faith of his fathers and pay tribute to our holy religion. Tennyson lived at a time, we must remember—a hundred years ago—when science was in a very special manner engrossing the mind of the world, and many Christians were excited and fearful for their ancient faith: in a time when it was not as widely recognized as it is to-day that between science, properly speaking, and religion (as Catholics of course have always realized) there is really no clash at all. In his epilogue to "The Idyls of the King" Tennyson himself describes the time when he says:

. . . "For some are scared, who mark
Or wisely or unwisely, signs of storm,
Waverings of every vane with every wind,
And wordy trucklings to the transient hour,
And fierce or careless looseners of the faith."

Against the materialistic utterances of the scientists of his day—

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*J. C. Earle in "The Catholic World," Vol. VII., p. 146.

the Darwins and the Huxleys, whose declarations were actually frightening the thoughtless world—against their shattering doctrines the poet Tennyson lifted up a strong voice, and, singing the faith and hope of the common people, he became a veritable bulwark for them against materialism and infidelity. But whence did all this strength of his, and this Christian force and conviction, come, if not from the deep foundations of Catholic truth that lay imbedded in his faith, no matter how heaped over with latter day error and misapprehension they might be? When Tennyson seized upon the staff of Truth and stepped bravely forth to defend the hopes of his age, it was down to the bedrock of Catholic belief that he struck that staff for his support. He was a religious man, and his faith was well grounded—as well as can be the fatih of any good man who has all things but the one great mainstay of pure unadulterated Catholic truth; and so he met the scientific doubtings and questionings of his time with daring and force and positive conviction. In this phase of his life Tennyson was distinctly Catholic; for he did as any Catholic thinker would do:—what was true in science and what measured squarely with Christian faith, he accepted and expounded; but what was false in science he showed to be false and cried it down.

I have said that the deeper and higher Tennyson goes in his researches into the meaning of life, the more Catholic he becomes. It is true that at times he seems to resort to that least impressive use of Catholic coloring, to which I have referred—the decorative; as in "Mariana in the South," where the refrain "Ave Mary" is repeatedly used with a beautiful effect, it is true, but yet without intrinsic purpose; and it might be said that sometimes the tribute he pays to Catholic ideals is an unwilling one. Certainly, whether he liked it or not, his play " Becket," had to be Catholic, or not be at all. But the Catholic note is in him, willing or not. As for "Becket" —could a Catholic writer say more than Tennyson put into these words uttered by St. Thomas of Canterbury, when he defies his enemies?

"Ye think to scare me from my loyalty
To God and to the Holy Father. No!
Tho' all the swords in England flashed above me
Ready to fall at Henry's word, or yours—
Tho' all the loud-lunged trumpets upon earth
Blared from the heights of all the thrones of her kings,
Blowing the world against me, I would stand
Clothed with the full authority of Rome
Mail'd in the perfect panoply of faith,

First of the foremost of their files who die
For God."

That is as Catholic as the Pope himself!

It is in Tennyson's greatest poems that the Catholic note sounds the most clearly. All through "The Idyls of the King" we hear it, strong and sure—for the "Idyls" is almost wholly a Catholic poem. And in "In Memoriam" and in "The Princess" we hear it again, at least echoing and reëchoing, if not always ringing and definite. And then time and again in his shorter poems, the Catholic note unmistakably greets us. Could anything be more Catholic than his "St. Simeon Stylites?" From beginning to end it is a Catholic poem, such as only a Catholic heart could feel, a Catholic mind conceive. The picture the poet gives us of the aged saint, wracked by pains and penances, yet crying out with his last breath the glorious lesson of sacrifice and renunciation, is something to thrill the heart of any Catholic. "Mortify your flesh like me!" the old saint cries to the people who gather to venerate him:

"Mortify
Your flesh, like me, with scourges and with thorns;
Smite, shrink nor spare not. If it may be, fast
Whole Lents, and pray!"

The climax of this fine poem, when St. Simeon sees heaven opening to him, and calls for a priest to bring him the Blessed Sacrament, is as fine as anything ever written by a Catholic poet in any language. Then there is "St. Agnes Eve"—a poem which could not have been written by any man who did not comprehend the spiritual, who was not deeply sensitive to the yearning of the religious heart, and to the heaven-hunger of the saints.

And so we come to Tennyson's three best known and longest poems, "The Idyls of the King," "In Memoriam" and "The Princess."

Of "The Princess" (to touch upon it only in the briefest manner) this can be said: that it is very largely Catholic in its philosophy and its teaching. It sets forth the great fallacy of the day, that knowledge is all in all; and it shows plainly that knowledge and intellectuality are mere empty nothings without moral elevation and spiritual growth. In this poem Tennyson stands out unquestionably for a good old-fashioned Catholic belief—a belief that is much assailed at the present time—that woman's sphere is the home; that woman is at her best when blessed and crowned with motherhood.

When we discuss "The Idyls of the King" we are treating of a poem so Catholic, not only in its form and its externals, but in its very essence and inspiration, that we find it difficult to believe at times that its author is not a Catholic, so sympathetically and so spiritually does he handle the theme. The two chief sources from which Tennyson drew his material for his "Idyls" were two historic priests—Goffrey of Monmouth, a Benedictine monk, and Thomas Malory. It was from the chronicles of these two ancient writers of legendary lore that Tennyson got the idea and the story for his great poem.

Now the question is, was Tennyson in this case merely a singer of songs and a teller of tales, who simply made good use of a rich old legend to weave an alluring and poetic story? If this were so, still we could go on discussing the unmistakably Catholic note in the poem, and show how comprehendingly, how sympathetically Tennyson was able to write of Catholic knights and Catholic ladies, of priests and the Mass and prayers, and so on. But we can go further; we can ask, did not Tennyson find in the legends of Geoffrey and Malory something more than simply an heroic tale? Did he not go deeper than the mere surface and find therein a great theme of man's immortal soul?

The answer is Yes. To any one who reads "The Idyls of the King" with thought and reflection it is plain that they are far more than the chanting of legendary lore. The warfare they picture is a far greater warfare than that of knights in armor, riding to battle on noble steeds. "The Idyls of the King" in reality sets forth the battle of man's soul to win eternal happiness with God in heaven.

It is not by mere speculation that we arrive at the meaning of "The Idyls of the King." Tennyson himself has told us in plain words just what they mean. In the epilogue to "The Idyls" he says, addressing the Queen:

"Accept this old imperfect tale,
New-old and shadowing Sense at war with Soul,
Rather than that gray king
Of Geoffrey's book, or him of Malleor's.

In other words, the story of "The Idyls" is not the mere legend of Arthur ("that gray king"), but the record of "Sense at war with Soul"—of the spiritual battling for supremacy over the carnal and the material. To confirm even further this interpretation so clearly set forth by the poet himself, we have the evidence of his letter to one of his critics, Dr. Condé Pallen, telling Dr. Pallen that in the latter's book, "The Meaning of the Idyls of the King," which elaborates this self-same interpretation: "You see further into their meaning than most of my commentators have done."

With this all so clearly defined it is not difficult for us to read

"The Idyls" with eyes open to their high and beautiful significance. Little by little the whole scheme of the poem reveals itself; and while the plot of the story is never lost, the inner meaning of it all is borne home to us with very increasing emphasis.

"Sense at war with Soul" then is the keynote to "The Idyls of the King." The symbolism is beautifully and consistently worked out from beginning to end. "King Arthur" is the soul, the immortal and the spiritual man, strong and beautiful and pure, who comes "from the great deep" of eternity, and whom the warlike barons—the senses and the passions of man—at first rejected, refusing to submit to the sovereignty of the spiritual.

"Queen Guinevere" is the body, "the fairest under heaven." The knights are the faculties and energies of man, consecrated to God and pledged to the soul, their king, by holy vows. The Round Table is the perfect spiritual organization of man, the soul reigning as king, the knights infused with his high spirit and lifted up by the inspiration of his holy purpose. And, finally, the Holy Grail—the mystic chalice—is the perfect life of spiritual contemplation which all strive to achieve, but which only the sinless may attain.

From the very beginning of "The Idyls" there is no mistaking Tennyson's meaning. In the very first idyl he lays the foundations of this epic plainly and in full view when he tells the story of "The Coming of Arthur"—that is, of the coming of the spiritual man—into the land of Leodegran—

"Wherein the beast was ever more and more,
And man was less and less, till Arthur came;"

and we hear Arthur, the soul, speaking thus of Guinevere, the body:

"Shall I not lift her from this land of beasts
Up to my throne, and side by side with me?"

This is Catholic poetry of the very highest and finest kind; and when further we come to the story of the founding of the Round Table we reach a richly Catholic note in that scene where the knights with their king are gathered about the Table Round:"

"I beheld
From eye to eye thro' all their order flash
A momentary likeness to the king;
And ere it left their faces, thro the cross
And those around it and the Crucified
Down from the casement over Arthur, smote
Flame color, vert and azure, in three rays,
And falling upon each of three fair queens,

Who stood in silence near his throne, the friends
Of Arthur, gazing on him, tall, with bright
Sweet faces, who will help him at his need."

The scene is plain to us—Arthur and his knights gathered there in the spacious hall; above the king's throne a great window of stained glass pouring its rich light down upon them, haloing and glorifying them with that mystic illumination of "flame color, vert and azure," that reveals the "three fair queens"—the three theological virtues, Charity, Hope and Faith—come to pledge the knights to high and holy vows and disclosed to them only in the light that flows from the Divine atonement of Our Saviour, Jesus Christ. Even the liturgical colors are brought out—"flame color, vert and azure," the red and green and blue of Charity, Hope and Faith, And then comes the climax of this purely Catholic symbolism, the vision of "The Lady of the Lake," the spirit of Religion, who gives to the soul the "cross-hilted sword" of spiritual weapons to fight the passions of the body and to "drive the heathen" of sin out of the world:

"Clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful;
She gave the king his huge cross-hilted sword
Wherewith to drive the heathen out: a mist
Of incense curled about her. . . . She dwells
Down in a deep calm, whatsoever storms
May shake the world, and when the surface rolls
Hath power to walk the waters like our Lord."

Thus, as we follow the poem through, we see the whole story of the human soul played out like a great drama. We see the kingship of the soul undermined and attacked by the false and treasonous knights of sin. We see sin creep in to destroy the perfect order and harmony of that charmed order where only the virtues should reign. We see the guilt of Guinevere, the queen, typifying the sins of the flesh, while in the fall of Merlin—the spirit of Wisdom—is pictured the sin of the mind. In the allegorical character of Vivien, who causes the downfall of Merlin, Tennyson denotes with unusual strength and emphasis the sin of impurity, "the bitterest enemy the soul can have. Justice, knowledge, harmony, order, truth, true love, man's energy and woman's insight, all go down before the attack of impurity," says Stopford Brook. "Vivien is set against the tender innocence of Elaine; Enid, the true wife, against Guinevere, the false." In Lancelot is depicted the man who though remorseful for his sin still tempts God, still plays with the occasions of sin—the man who has not the spiritual strength to wholly give up evil, much as he desires to be pure. But Galahad is the spotless one, the virgin knight, the utterly pure, the perfectly spiritualized man, whose armor is never tarnished nor even shadowed. He alone it is who achieves the Holy Grail of spiritual life, the goal all would win. There is Percivale, too; but Percivale, though given a momentary glimpse of the Holy Grail, was still guilty of one sin—the sin of pride. The virtue of humility—the all essential to spiritual insight—was not his.

Thus the "Idyls" bring us to "The Last Tournament," in which the final battle between Sense and Soul, between Good and Evil—is fought, and then to the "Passing of Arthur," in which one of the most Catholic of all Tennyson's utterances appears. It is the dying king who speaks:

"Pray for my soul," he says:
"Pray for my soul. More things are wrought by prayer
Than the world dreams of. Wherefore, let thy voice
Rise like a fountain for me, night and day,
For what are men better than sheep or goats
That nourish a blind life within the brain
If, knowing God, they lift not hands of prayer
Both for themselves and those who call them friend?
For so the whole round earth is every way
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God."

And so "The Idyls" end, sounding, indeed, a triumphant Catholic note—not only proclaiming our merciful doctrine of prayer for the soul of man, but crying exultantly of immortality:

"Nay—God, my Christ—I pass, but shall not die!"

If "The Idyls of the King" is Catholic by sympathy, so to speak, "In Memoriam" is largely Catholic by affirmation. It does more than sing by inference the beauties and glories of Catholic religion, for time and again it proclaims distinctive Catholic truth.

"In Memoriam" is a meditation on the immortality of the soul. To fully understand this poem we must know something of its inspiration—of how it came to be written and why.

It is a remarkable fact that the two greatest love poems in the English language—the sonnets of Shakespeare and the "In Memoriam" of Tennyson—found their inspiration not in the love of man and woman, but in the ideal of friendship, in the love of one man for another. Those who have studied the sonnets of Shakespeare cannot forget with what deep passion the poet glorifies the friend of his heart. But Tennyson's love for his friend, Arthur Hallam, was higher still, and his passion one of the purest ever immortalized in verse. His Arthur was more than the friend of his heart—he was thethe friend of his very soul, who opened heaven for him and made immortality and eternity at once the aim and the living motive of the poet's daily life. Their friendship was, as he himself has sung:

> "A friendship as had mastered time;"

a friendship that made Tennyson strong to reject all the temptations with which the Evil One assailed him against the reality of God and Heaven. It is thus, as Brother Azarias points out in his "Phases of Thought and Criticism," that Tennyson answered the doubtings and misgivings of unbelief:

> "What but a murmur of gnats in the gloom, or a moment's anger of bees in their hive?—
> Peace let it be! For I loved him, and love him forever; the dead are not dead, but alive!"

This wonderful friendship between Tennyson and his Arthur began in their school days, when they were together in the classroom or at recreation. And though their friendship, as reckoned by time, lasted only three or four years—for Arthur died soon after he left the university—in reality it was an eternal friendship that endures forever and forever.

But Tennyson's "In Memoriam" is far more than the mere record of the love of one man for another; it is an affirmation of the love of God for man and of man's deep need of God.

The death of his friend was a heavy blow to Tennyson. He grieved so deeply that there were times when he feared the actual loss of his mind. For a time nothing but darkness seemed to envelop him. But out of that darkness his soul went groping to the light. And though he did not ever reach the fullness of that light which pours out its perfect radiance from the day-spring of Catholic Truth, he did attain to such a degree of faith and certainty that no Catholic can read "In Memoriam" without having his belief confirmed, his soul strengthened, his whole being set more firmly on the path to God—that path which leads so roughly and so narrowly up the dark hill of Calvary in the shadow of the cross. This is the great lesson to learn from Tennyson's "In Memoriam"—that it is through the desolation of the cross, through grief and loneliness and sorrow, through negation and denial and sacrifice—that the soul draws nearest God.

> "I hold it truth with him who sings
> To one clear harp in divers tones
> That men may rise on stepping stones
> Of their dead selves to higher things."

Just as in "The Idyls of the King," we see played out before us the drama of "sense at war with soul," so in "In Memoriam" we witness the great drama of doubt at war with faith. We see the heart bowed down, the soul sick unto death with a sorrow that seems cruelly unnecessary and crying out against its suffering; but little by little we see that soul rise up from where it lay prone under the weight of its cross and mount its Calvary and win finally to the glory of its resurrection against all the harassing demons of doubt and misgiving that scourge it on its way.

The value of Tennyson's argument in "In Memoriam" from the Catholic viewpoint lies in the proof it gives that it is by Faith and not by Reason that we may attain to happiness and peace of soul; and furthermore that not all the reasoning within the power of the mind of man will ever lead to faith. Something more than cold reason and analysis is necessary:

"If e'er, when faith had fallen asleep,
I heard a voice 'Believe no more,
And heard an ever-breaking shore
That tumbled in a godless deep,
A warmth within the breast would melt
The freezing reason's colder part,
And like a man in wrath the heart
Stood up and answer'd, 'I have felt'."

But Tennyson is not satisfied with affirming his own faith—with voicing the faith of his people, to confront and dispute the doubt and questionings of the rationalists of his day. He goes further, and strong in his belief he denounces those meddlers who would destroy man's peace of mind and blight his heart with their poisonous infidelities. Such men, little and conceited and shallowpated, lived and preached and printed in Tennyson's time as they do to-day and fitly he calls them—

"The flies of latter spring
That lay their eggs, and sting and sing,
And weave their pretty cells and die."

At some points of "In Memoriam" Tennyson is not wholly Catholic—not that he denies, but that he fails to reach the fullness of the truth. Though he believes with all the faith of the saints in the soul's immortality, still his speculations on the future state—on Eternity and Heaven—will not always bear the searching light of Catholic teaching. For instance (as Brother Azarias points out), his belief in the

"Eternal process moving on,
From state to state the spirit walks,"

is not exactly Catholic, but it is a groping and a searching for the full Catholic truth concerning heaven and the soul. The points, in fact, at which Tennyson fails of the whole truth serve but to reflect all the more brightly the light of holy faith to which he attained through grief and suffering.

In brief outline, then, Tennyson's "In Memoriam" leads us from the darkness of a grief that borders on despair, gradually and by difficult degrees, into the light of faith and peace. It shows us the human heart bruised by the cold hand of death crying out for comfort and finding it, not in the chill speculations of reason and science, but in the warmth and light of Christian faith. The poem ends not so much in exultation as in a deep and lofty calm—a peace that is sealed with the proof and conviction that there is a loving God directing all our days:

"And all is well, though faith and form
Be sundered in the night of fear;
Still roars the storm to those that hear
A deeper voice across the storm."

But the exultation is there, too; and it will sing out; and the glory and the joy of immortality shouts like a clarion in every word as he calls across the barrier of the grave to his beloved Arthur:

"Sweet human hand and lip and eye;
Dear heavenly friend that canst not die.
Mine, mine, for ever, ever mine!
Far off thou art, but ever nigh;
I have thee still and I rejoice;
I prosper, circled with thy voice;
I shall not lose thee tho' I die!"

The poem ends with a hymn to God—one of the greatest hymns ever sung out of the heart of man—a great utterance of the soul, that compresses into its four brief lines all the light and beauty of Christian faith—a hymn to Christ, "the light of the world"—

"Strong Son of God, immortal Love,
Whom we, that have not seen Thy face,
By faith, and faith alone, embrace,
Believing where we cannot prove!"

These, the opening lines of "In Memoriam" as it appears in print, were actually written at the closing of the work. They are the beginning and the ending of it, as God is the Alpha and Omega of the soul.

It is a joy to find this Catholic note in Tennyson, and to find him not playing at it, but living it. He is not like many non-Catholic writers have been—willing to don the rich and ancient robes of Catholic beauty for the sake of effect, but never wearing them with ease or grace. No; when Tennyson writes as a Catholic he comes very nearly being a Catholic. He means it; he feels it; he cannot help it. And it is not only in externals, in sympathy revealed and in the affirmation of belief, that Tennyson is Catholic; it is in the purity of his muse, as well, that we feel him truly one of us. No page of his, no verse, no line, is sullied by the stain of impurity—and that, alas, is something that cannot be said of the literature of our own day, when writers sell themselves to degradation and deliberately sing lewd songs with the God given voice of poesy. "Let it never be forgotten," said one of Tennyson's biographers, "as one of his chief glories, that Alfred Tennyson, even in the first flush and fervor of his young manhood, never wrote an unclean line. He treated the mysteries of love and passion with an exquisite reverence that was almost awe. . . . All his life Alfred Tennyson maintained that noble reticence, that reserved emotion; passionate as his poetic nature was, anything like impurity of expression was impossible to him, 'because his heart was pure'." As he himself sings in his beautiful Catholic poem, "St. Agnes Eve:"

"My strength is as the strength of ten
Because my heart is pure."

But why do we seek out the Catholic note in our literature? What is the object of such study and research? Surely it is to give ourselves a new reminder of the riches and beauty of our Catholic faith—riches and beauty that are ours in a far fuller measure than even this great poet possessed them. And when we have realized this we cannot help but wonder how much greater would Tennyson have been—great as he is even now—had he possessed what we possess—the Truth in all its fullness. If he, then, vouchsafed but "broken lights," could achieve all that he did achieve for the glory of God and the good of men's souls, what limit can the human mind put on the possibilities of a great Catholic poet singing the glory and beauty of the world, the mystery of life and love, as seen with the clear eye of Faith? We need such a poet to-day—we need a Catholic Tennyson in America. What he wrote of his day is truer still of ours:

"For some are scared, who mark
Or wisely or unwisely, signs of storm,

Waverings of every vane with every wind,
And wordy trucklings to the transient hour,
And fierce or careless looseners of faith."

Some little time ago the press was busy quoting the song of a modern poet—a professor at Yale University—who cried, "Take away your ivory Christ!" The pagan cult of the god Pan is the religion of too many of our modern poets. We need a great Christian poet to rise up as Tennyson arose—strong in his faith and daring in his strength, pure in his love and ashamed of nothing but impurity and hating nothing but evil. We need such a poet—a great Catholic poet of the common people—to soothe the unrest and discontent of the unhappy world—not to sing it into the sleep of a night forespent with doubt and sin, but to wake it to the morning lift of life-worth-while, to arouse it to the glories of a day of Faith, that shall be filled with the zest of God's own activities! And if we have no such poet of our own to-day, beyond a doubt it richly profits us then to study the Catholic note in the works of so great a poet as Alfred Tennyson

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CAVE HOMES AND SHRINES—STALACTITES AND STALAGMITES.

I HAVE often wondered how many students of the Catholic Summer School at Cliff Haven and other excursionists who visit the Ausable Chasm have ever given a thought to anything connected with it beyond its wonderful appearance as a curiosity—a freak of nature—a show place in the Adirondack region. It is regarded by the mass of visitors very much after the manner in which tourists visit celebrated art galleries (because it is the proper thing to do when in their vicinity)—*look* at the works of the great masters, express the usual stereotyped admiration, but *see* little or nothing. It is not our purpose here to write a description of the Ausable Chasm beyond, perhaps, an incidental reference. We propose to say a word about subterranean phenomena in a general way.

Now by subterranean phenomena we do not refer to "trenches" in the war zone, although they may be regarded, in a sense, as a kind of phenomena which to-day are and to-morrow are blown up. Our studies in natural history (or even unnatural history) have never lured us in that direction. Trenches may possess a "strategic value," but we are more concerned here with stalactification than with strategy.

The study of grottoes, caverns, caves, cave temples and cave homes and shrines carries the student to the very borderlands of natural history and archæology, as well as to those of paganism and Christianity, and it is under these aspects that we propose to deal with them.

Caverns occur chiefly in limestone districts, but occasionally they are found in sandstone and volcanic rocks. They may be divided into three classes—the first are the narrow fissures, penetrating deeply into the earth; the second, tunneled caves, open at both ends, and the third and the most common consists of a series of cavities or chambers connected with one another by passages varying in extent. Eldon Hole, on the peak of Devonshire, England, is an example of the narrow fissures, being a limestone chasm 60 feet long and 20 feet wide. It has been explored to a depth of two or three hundred feet, but the bottom of the fissure has never been sounded.

The abyss of Fredrickshall, in Norway, is one of the most remarkable. A stone thrown into this fissure did not make its fall heard until an interval of one or two minutes, which gives a depth of 59,049 feet for two minutes and 39,886 feet for a minute and a half, or, in other words, eleven and a fraction miles.

A striking example of tunneled caves is afforded by the Mountain of Torghatten, in Norway. It is pierced by an opening 3,000 feet long, and twice in the year the sun darts its rays through this shaft from one extremity to the other. Another very curious natural tunnel is the harbor of Port Lloyd, Bonin Islands, which passes through basaltic rock from the southern head to the beach on the other side. The entrance is 15 feet wide and 30 feet high, but the roof within soon rises to a height of 40 to 50 feet and presents the appearance of an artificial arch. There are several other arches of this nature—one 150 feet long passes through a headland bounding the harbor and is constantly traversed by canoes of the natives. Caverns of this class are most interesting because of their great extent, the grandeur and variety of their subterranean beauty and the weird and fanciful forms assumed by their mineral concretions.

Caves are frequently formed by volcanic action, and Fingal's Cave, in the Island of Staffa, is the best known perhaps of caverns so formed. Another beautiful example of this class is to be found in Iceland. In the torrent of lava that flowed from Bald Yökul is a vast cavern 40 feet high, 50 feet broad and nearly a mile long. Masses of beautiful black lava, shaped like icicles, hang from the roof; the sides are variegated with vitrified horizontal bands and the floor is covered with solid ice, clear as crystal.

Caves in limestone districts are distinguished by mineral incrustations, known as stalagmites, which are formed by water, impregnated with lime, that trickles through the roof. Part of this water evaporates upon the roof, leaving the lime, which in the process of time becomes a pendant mass like an icicle—this is the stalagtite, while that portion of water which falls upon the floor also evaporates and the lime that is deposited arises from the floor in pyramidal shapes and thus forms stalagmites. When, as not unfrequently happens, the ascending stalagmite meets the descending stalactite, they blend together and form columns, arches and grottoes and sheets and curtains of translucent stone. Beautiful examples of this kind may be seen in the Luray Cave, in Virginia. It was here that during the sessions of the Southern Summer School (the one held at Harper's Ferry) I had an opportunity of visiting the Luray Cave and with the suggestions of my guide, of studying these various interesting formations. My pupils at home got the benefit of my observations. We had a fine opportunity to study the formation of the stalagmite on the spot. It was pointed out to us that whenever a drop of water trickles down through some of the minute crevices in the limestone rock, it is sure to deposit some limestone. This deposition takes place on the *circumference* of *the drop* rather than in the centre and produces a *ring* of limestone. This ring becomes the support of other drops, and the process continues until a tube from one inch to three feet long, having the diameter of the drop, is formed, when it begins to fill up and the water to trickle down exteriorly and to increase the size of the column. The process is similar to the formation of an icicle, except that one is formed by solidification and the other by deposition. They are larger at the top because the larger part of the lime is deposited before the end is reached, but there is a constant endeavor to reach the bottom.

Now, while this is the typical stalactite, we are exultingly informed that in Luray the typical forms are the exception, nature having reveled in the production of odd forms in these caverns. As a rule, more water flows down a stalagtite than can be evaporated, and consequently it drops upon the floor, forming a stalagmite which continually endeavors to meet its mother above. In time the upward reach of the one and the downward stretching of the other may unite them both into one column, thick or slender, single or double, reaching from floor to ceiling.

The many extraordinary monuments of aqueous energy include columns wrenched from their place in the ceiling and prostrate on the floor; the Hollow Column, 40 feet high and 30 feet in diameter, standing erect, but pierced by a tubular passage from top to bottom; the Leaning Column, very suggestive of Pisa's Leaning Tower, nearly as large and undermined and tilting, and the Organ, a cluster of stalactites dropped points downward and standing thus in the room designated as the Cathedral. All these fill the visitor with admiration. We appreciate still better the fitness of the name Cathedral to this sculptured apartment when our guide, walking up to the mass of stalactites called the Organ, plays a familiar air upon this wonderful sheet of rock. Each column has a deep, musical resonance of varying pitch, whose tones are more like the breathings of an organ than the metallic qualities of the piano or xylophone. The denizens of the cavern not only pose, but speak, and our admiration is complete and the effect of that melody will not soon be forgotten.

Luray Caves have been described so often and so fully that we must content ourselves here with the above brief mention.

The Mammoth Cave in Kentucky, with its 150 miles of galleries, is another grand and magnificent example of limestone caverns.

Another beautiful example of this character is to be found in the Cave of Adelsburg, some six miles from Trieste, in Austria, which is remarkable for its length and height. The entrance to the Adelsburg Cave is through a fissure which seems to have been the result of an earthquake. This cave consists of several halls and grottoes adorned by almost innumerable translucent pillars white as snow. The bottom is covered with similar concretions, while from the roof hang numerous stalactites, which under the blaze of torches dazzle the eye with their radiance. The sides of many of the grottoes are draped with the same brilliant incrustations, so thin and transparent that they fall like delicate crystal curtains to the floor. Abysses 500 and 600 feet deep abound in this cavern, and amid its recesses a river winds its course, spanned by two bridges a mile apart and formed by stalagmites.

A gentleman who visited this magnificent subterranean wonder told me that "at every step the scene shifts like a panorama. Sometimes the cave is so low that the explorer is obliged to stoop, and again so high that the roof is lost in the gloom. At one time we saw the guides lighting up some distant gallery far above our head, which had all the appearance of a veranda adorned with Gothic tracery. At another time we came to what seemed the long-drawn aisles of a cathedral."

One of the many rooms is called the Ballroom, where the inhabitants of Adelsburg and vicinity were wont to assemble every Whit-Monday, on which occasions the "hall" was brilliantly illuminated for the dance.

Within the darkness of this cavern lives the proteus, a singular animal, white and transparent, with a shape between that of a lizard and the eel.

We have said that the study of grottoes, caverns, cave temples and cave homes and shrines carries the student to the very borderlands of natural history and archæology as well as to those of paganism and Christianity, and we also learn that caves have excited awe and admiration in all ages and have been associated with legend and superstition as well as with the struggles of the early Christians for existence. They were the abode of the Sybil and the Nymphs of Roman mythology and the temples of the gods of the Greeks. Beneath their vaulted roofs the oracle of Delphis, Corinth and Mount Cithæron were delivered, and in Persia they were associated with the worship of Mithras. Who has not heard of the Fairy, the Dragons and the Devil's Caves in France and Germany and the Dwarf Holes in the Hartz Mountains? Was it not on an island grotto that the Nymph Calypos entertained the shipwrecked Telemachus, son of Ulysses, and who but for the prudent counsels of the wise Mentor would have prevailed upon him to forego the brilliant career that awaited him? Legendary lore tells us that the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus took their long sleep in a cave, and the Moorish child still turns its wistful eyes towards the hills of Granada, looking for the great Broabdil and his sleeping host, who will one day awake to restore the glory of the Moors in their beloved Alhambra.

Caves have been used in all lands for habitations, refuge and sepulture. Lot dwelt in a cave; five Canaanite Kings fled from Joshua and David from Saul and found refuge in the caves of Palestine, and the Cave of Adullam was such a refuge for the oppressed that the name has become proverbial, whilst the Aquitani sought protection from their Roman conquerors in the caves of Auvergne. As far back as B. C. 1860 we find the Cave of Machpelah made sure unto Abraham for a possession of a burial-place by the sons of Heth. Here Abraham buried Sarah, his wife, and here many years afterwards was Abraham laid beside her by his sons.

The rock-hewn tombs of Palestine and Egypt and the Catacombs of Rome are further evidences of caves enlarged and made into burial places. Gongora y Martinez, a Spanish antiquarian, describes various interments in the Cave of Murcielagos (or Cave of the Bats), which penetrates the limestone of the grand scenery of which the southern Sierra Nevada has been to a great extent carved. In one place was found a group of three skeletons, one of which wore a plain coronet of gold and was clad in a tunic made of esparto grass, finely plaited, so as to form a pattern like that on some of the golden ornaments found in Etruscan tombs. In another place further in twelve skeletons formed a semi-circle around one covered with a tunic of skin and wearing a necklace of esparto grass, earrings of black stone and ornaments of shell and wild boar tusks. At Mentone, on the Gulf of Geneva, we had pointed out to us several very celebrated bone-caves which, we are told, have furnished an abundance of interesting organic and other prehistoric remains. These caves, which are about eighty-eight feet above the Mediterranean, are natural rifts in the Roches Rouges, the mountains over which the Cornice Road passed. In March, 1872, a fossil human skeleton, our guide told us, was exhumed in one of them at a depth of twenty-one feet below the surface. It lay on its left side in a natural position, as if death had overtaken the man during sleep. The skull was ornamented with a number of shells and with twenty-two teeth of the stag, all of which were perforated and formed a sort of network about the head. The skeleton, which was nearly perfect and indicated great strength, was placed in the Museum of Natural History in Paris. It is supposed to belong to the palæolithic age. The cranium was so fractured both behind and in front as to prevent accurate measurement. It is dolicho-cephalus (or long-skulled), arched at the summit, and the sutures are all consolidated. The facial angle is nearly eighty degrees and the height of the man is estimated to have been six feet. So interested were we in the account of "the find" given us by our friend at Mentone that on reaching Paris, on our journey homeward, we visited the Musee and obtained the further details given above.

Bone caves of note are to be found near Kirkdale and Bristol, England; in the Valley of the Dordogne, France, especially those of Monstiers and Cro-Magnon, described by Christy and Lartet, and in Gailenrenth, in Bavaria. There are others in Belgium or Sicily, at Gibraltar, in Mexico and Brazil and in several parts of the United States. The bones most abundantly found are those of the great carnivora of the quarternary period, the bear, hyena, lion, etc., with those of the great pachyderms, as the mammoth, and rhinoceros, and of many herbiverous and rodents.

Remains of man and of his works have been found mingled with the bones of post-terciary extinct mammals in the caves of Europe, and especially in the south of France, by Messrs. Christy and Lartet, seeming to place it almost beyond doubt that man began his existence at this remote period. The implements found invariably belong to the early stone period, and the bones of an animal found in one place belong to the species afterward subjugated by man. The examination of the human and animal remains found in caverns in different parts of the world have opened up quite an interesting field of study.

Caverns are even to this day used as habitations. There are caves fashioned into homes, where gypsies in Spain have dwelt from time immemorial. Some of these, situated along the side of a mountain road, would seem to consist of "two stories," one above the other, the upper floor being reached by a ladder from the outside. Here bands of gypsies dwell in common, and may be seen sitting along the roadside sunning themselves or engaged in repairing tinware or the like. Their swarms of children sit around the doors and play in the innocence of childhood, while pigs grunt and root in quest of the scanty food the mountain home affords. In Southern Italy accidental excavations have been in like manner adopted as human habitations. Possibly these excavations might show that prehistoric man once dwelt in the hollows of these rocks.

Among the most remarkable cave temples in the world may be mentioned those at Elephanta and Ellora. The cave at Elephanta, a small island of India, in the harbor of Bombay, derives its name, we are told, from a huge stone elephant which formerly stood on the shore. The temple, long since abandoned by the priests, is now frequented solely by sterile women praying for fecundity. (What a popular resort this would *not* be in certain parts of our highly enlightened and Christian country!) The interior breadth of this temple is 123 feet, and its length presents a vast range of columns cut from the solid rock. The sides of the cavern are filled with mythological figures, among which may be mentioned the Hindoo trinity, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. The scenes in the life of Siva and Parvati seem to have given free scope to the corrupt imagination of the native sculptors, who reproduced them with all their revolting indecency, and we are far from joining in the almost universal condemnation heaped upon the Portuguese of the sixteenth century by fanatical archæologists for having destroyed them. This temple is generally considered to be the most ancient rock-temple on the Indian peninsula.

More beautiful and far more striking than the temple at Elephanta are the subterranean temples of Ellora, near the city of that name. They form galleries of not less than six miles in extent, which in certain places are built in stories communicating with one another. The "Kailasa" or "Kelaça" has been carved out of solid rock and completely detached from the mountain and forms but a single block. It has all the appearance of having been built stone upon stone. It covers an area of about 400 feet in length by 190 feet in breadth. Within the granite gateway there is a magnificent court some 230 feet long by 100 feet wide, with walls 140 feet high. Beyond is the chapel of Nandi, the companion of Siva, and still further in is the principal temple. This is supported by enormous square pilasters arranged in four rows. Those at the corners and at the circumference, twenty in number, are supported by elephants, which appear to raise the enormous mass on their huge backs. The temple is 500 feet in circumference and is flanked by porticos, terraces, basins and chapels, and the court which surrounds it on every side is decorated with obelisks and gigantic elephants. The walls are decorated with innumerable statues and bas-reliefs. These temples, as has been seen, were all devoted to the worship of Buddhist deities.

Paneas or Banias, anciently known as Cæsarea Philippi, is a village of Palestine some forty-five miles west-southwest of Damascus and near the headwaters of the Jordan. Here is a vast cavern, the "Panium" of Josephus, in which may be found the traces of the temple built by Herod in honor of the Emperor Augustus. This grotto, nestled beneath the great Hermon, was with the surrounding forest dedicated to the god Pan. Greek inscriptions carved in the rock near the entrance, and some of them still legible, bear evidence of this worship. Herod was careful that the work should be complete in every particular and the material used was marble or some white stone. At the entrance of the grotto there was formerly a reservoir of great depth; it is now choked up with rubbish and serves as a refuge for cattle in the winter. On the west side of the grotto may be seen niches, some of which are in a fair state of preservation, and which were once filled with statues of Pan. Close by the grotto the waters of the Jordan may be seen forcing their way through a mass of ruins. Above the entrance of the grotto is a little Christian chapel dedicated to St. George, and close beside it a Turkish mosque. The good Dominican father to whom I am largely indebted for the above details smiled significantly when he mentioned the proximity of the Turkish mosque to the Christian chapel. Olyphant, a noted explorer, found many caves hitherto unexplored in and near Mount Carmel, on the shores of the Mediterranean.

Buddhist cave temples are to be found nestled away under mountain and hill wherever Buddhism has existed. We find the ruins of their cave convents at Hadah and in the vicinity of Jelalabad. Some of them bear traces of their former splendor. Statue, altar and niches tell the genius of the sculptors of long ago; half obliterated inscriptions give us an insight into the deities whose praises resounded through these caverns and the manner in which that worship was offered. Their history is the history of the religion of far-off India, and, though fraught with the deepest interest, would carry us far beyond the limits of a magazine article. We cannot take leave of India, however, without a word about the cave temple of Bisma Kurm which is interesting not so much on account of its dimensions as for the elegance and originality of its execution. It will be remembered that Bisma Kurm, or Vishna Karma, is the personification of Buddh considered as the primitive architect.

This temple is excavated in the rock at a depth of about 166 feet. It consists of a long gallery, with a circular ceiling, separated longitudinally into three aisles of two rows of twenty-eight octagonal pillars about 23 feet in circumference.

The statue of the god represented as the primitive architect is enthroned in a niche; at his feet are two lions, symbolizing Power and Force, while two of his attendants stand beside him, one of them holding the lotus flower, the symbol of creation and production, as well as a small staff or sceptre representing the power of sovereignty; the other attendant appears to be hanging a triangular "level" on a species of column. Above Bisma Kurm glows an eye emblematic of penetration and administrative wisdom. Above this eye we discover a workman's plummet, which, descending upon a horizontal line, forms two right angles, the absolute principles of all kinds of creation, formation and regular construction. It is probable that this remarkable temple was constructed in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era.

Religion here seems to have given its inspiration to art, as it has done in all climes and in all ages. We have seen it manifested in the cave temples of India, and it is no less evident in those of far-off and ancient Egypt. In these latter temples we get an idea of a higher standard of morality than appears to have been recognized in the grotesque and often unclean monsters which embody the Hindoo conception of divine attributes.

The Great Temple at Ipsambul seems to bring to light a magnificent specimen of Egyptian art—one that, with Champollian, we may confidently attribute to the palmiest epoch of Pharaonic civilization. In the larger of the two temples, consecrated by Rameses II. to the sun god Phrah, or Osiris, whose statue is placed over the entrance doorway, we find an area of about 187 feet wide by 86 feet high excavated from the mountain. The sides are perfectly smooth except where ornamented by relievos. The façade consists of four colossal statues of Rameses II. in sitting posture, each about 65 feet high, two being placed on each side of a narrow gate. From the shoulder to the tiara that adorns the head the distance is 16 feet 6 inches; the ears measure 3 feet 6 inches; the face 7 feet; the beard 5 feet 6 inches; across the shoulders 25 feet 6 inches. The moulding of each stony countenance is exquisite, while the beauty of the curves is surprising. The rounding of the muscles and the flowing lines of the neck and face are executed with great fidelity. What is most surprising in this wonderful work is the fact that the artist could have been guided by no model, as are the sculptors of to-day. Between the legs of these gigantic Ramessids are placed four statues of greatly inferior dimensions—mere pigmies when compared with their colossal neighbors, and yet considerably larger than ordinary human size.[1]

In another apartment—"a vast gloomy hall such as Eblis might have given Vathek audience in"—is a vast mysterious aisle, whose pillars are formed by eight colossal giants, on whom the rays of heaven's bright sun have never shone. "They stand erect with hands crossed on each stony breast; figures of the all-conquering Rameses, whose mitre-shaped headdresses, each wearing in front the serpent, the emblem of royal power, nearly touch the roof. They are all exactly alike; all carry the crosier and flagellum; every face is characterized by a deep and solemn expression." Miss Martineau describes them as "vigilant, serene, benign." Here they stand, teaching us to inquire reverentially into the early powers and conditions of the human mind which was capable of such conceptions of abstract qualities as are represented in their forms. What chapters could be written on the symbolism they portray! And a long series of surprises awaits us if we follow these symbols down through the ages! These gigantic Egyptian statues are the very types of conscious power, of calm and passionless intellect—as far removed from the petty things of earth as are the stars of heaven from "the worm that crawls beneath the sod."

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[1] Champollion's "Lettres écrites d'Egypte et de Nubie," Lenormant's "Esquisse de la Basse Nubie," Harriet Martineau's "Eastern Life."

Besides the veneration which many a mountain cavern has awakened in the minds of the masses of the people because of the religious rites performed within their precincts, many others have created no little awe and curiosity and have given the writer of legends a fruitful field for his imagination. Who has not heard of the optical phenomena of the Alps, the Hartz and the Cevennes Mountains? How many simple folk have told with solemn faces about the "Spectre of Brocken," which plays such an important part in Goethe's "Faust?" Who has not often been amused in reading about the dwarf holes and the glittering fairy homes which the popular tales of Germany tell us about in the depths of the Hartz Mountains?

The student of Grecian mythology will recall the story told by Pausanias concerning an oracle of Delphos. "For two years," he says, "no rain had fallen in Bœotia. In despair the inhabitants sent deputies from each of their towns to Delphi to implore Apollo to put an end to the drought. The Pythian ordered them to repair to Trophonius, at Lebadeia, assuring them that they would obtain from him a remedy for their ills. Accordingly, they went to Lebadeia, but could not find the oracle they sought. During the search, however, Saon, of the town of Acropolinum, the oldest of all the deputies, caught sight of a swarm of bees, and the thought struck him that he would follow them wherever they flew. Suddenly he saw the bees direct their course towards a mysterious grotto, which he entered with them; the oracle was discovered." Many other stories are told about the august dweller of this grotto.

In the Cevennas we find the Grotto of the Fairies, said at one time to have been the refuge of the Camisards. Let us enter without fear. Passing through a funnel-shaped apartment we discerned a rope-ladder about 50 feet long and came to a hall in which we behold a line of pillars 30 feet high, shaped like palm trees and forming magnificent galleries. Pushing further on through narrow passageways we come to another hall much larger than the first. Here we are delighted by the sight of an enormous curtain of stalactites gracefully draped so that its ends barely touch the ground. Around us are petrified cascades and tall obelisks, upon which the reflection of torches creates lights and shadows which the imagination soon molds into spirits and fairies. If we continue our journey we shall pass from chamber to chamber, one more beautiful than the other, with sparkling cascades and curious stalactites.

We have spoken of caverns formed by the continued action of water. A beautiful example of this kind is to be found near Ingleborough, Yorkshire, England. This famous cavern has been explored for over 800 yards, but how much further it extends or what it contains has yet to be learned. Its existence was long known, but it had received little attention until one day a gardener with an inquiring mind broke through the barrier of stalagmites and penetrated the various rooms and passages beyond. Two years of careful exploration revealed a large, irregular grotto, with here and there the sounds of falling waters breaking upon the ear from subterranean recesses further inward. The water was found to plunge into a deep reservoir, forming a sort of lake. The intrepid owner, a candle in his cap, after the fashion of our miners in the coal regions of Pennsylvania, and a rope around his waist, ventured to swim across the lake in the hope of discovering an outlet, but all in vain. He was rewarded, however, in his researches through this grotto with the discovery of a magnificent curtain of stalactites covered with club-like bodies, each consisting of a drop of water including a minute fungus.

At Dudley, in Worcestershire, England, there are limestone quarries which are very remarkable. The stone is usually excavated from the solid rock, leaving vast caverns, the roofs of which are supported by limestone pillars. One of these caverns is two miles long and is traversed by a canal, by means of which the stone is carried away. Here, too, may be seen the trunks of trees in a state of petrifaction.

Defiles or passes in mountain ranges may be regarded as akin to the subterranean world, some being deep and open all the way up, while others are partly open and partly tunnels. Among the former may be classed the Ausable Chasm, in the northern part of the State of New York, in the Adirondack region, near historical Lake Champlain. It is a gorge two miles long and from ten to fifty feet wide, 200 feet deep in some places, with beautiful rainbow falls seventy feet high. Visitors to the Catholic Summer School at Cliff Haven never fail to visit this natural wonder, and their powers of imagination are often "taxed to the limit" to recognize such resemblances as the Horseshoe Falls, Pulpit Rock, Elephant's Head, Devil's Oven, Jacob's Ladder, the Fernery, Devil's Punch Bowl, Jacob's Well, Mystic Gorge, the Grotto, Smuggler's Pass. The Post Office may be recognized by the number of visiting cards to be found along the ledge, but the Hanging Gardens, to some obtuse minds, are as far away as those that history tells us once adorned the banks of the Euphrates. The boat ride through the Grand Flume, however, is the real thing. Ausable Chasm nevertheless must be recognized as one of the great and awe-inspiring natural wonders of the world.

Another of the partly open and partly tunneled grottos is the famous Posilipo Grotto. The Posilipo *(Monte di Posilippo)* is a mountain in ancient Campania, one side of which faces the Sea of Pozzuoli and the other the city of Naples. It is pierced from one end to the other by a grotto or tunnel some 3,000 feet long by 30 to 80 feet high and 28 feet broad. The road from Naples to Pompeii passes through it and it forms a delightful promenade, marred somewhat by the necessarily limited view it affords and that the tourist is often choked with dust, while, as the road is not very wide, he is compelled to keep very close to the side so as to avoid collision with vehicles coming in an opposite direction. Twice a year, in the months of February and October, the last rays of the sun sweep through the entire length of the grotto, but only for a few minutes. The effect is then very beautiful and impressive and seems to be produced by some magical incantation. At all other times a gloomy twilight pervades by day. At night, however, a sufficient illumination is produced by lamps which hang at intervals from the roof of the tunnel. The visitor cannot hear at first without a feeling of disquiet the rattling of vehicles of all kinds, the clash of horses' hoofs and their frequent neighing, the shouts of the drivers and peasants—all these confused sounds rebounding upon the roof and echoing again and again in the deep depressions and fissures which occur here and there on either side.

It seems impossible to find the date or the architect of this curious work. Classical students will remember that the Greek geographer Strabo, who died in the reign of Tiberius (about 25 A. D.), and Seneca, the Roman philosopher (65 A. D.), both refer to it in their writings. Originally it seems to have been a quarry, which was subsequently converted into a practicable tunnel. The mouth, once choked up with weeds and brambles, was cleared and enlarged by order of Alphonso I., King of Naples, and Aragon, who also ordered the construction of the airshafts.

Above the grotto is found a Roman tomb, in which tradition tells us repose the ashes of Virgil (b. B. C. 40, d. B. C. 19), as told in our article on Pompeii in a recent number of this "Quarterly." As stated in that article, the authenticity of this interesting monument has been despoiled, but the precise indications furnished by the classical writers and the unbroken chain of confirmatory evidence, extending from the death of the poet of the "Æneid" to our own days, one would think sufficient to satisfy the most incredulous. Formerly a laurel planted by Petrarch flourished upon the tomb, but it fell victim to the iconoclast tourists of all nations, who are ever in quest of souvenirs and to whom nothing is sacred. Another laurel planted by Casimir Delavigne has shared the same fate. But many passersby, filled with charity and reverence for the dead, never fail to say a prayer for the departed, even though he died before the dawn of Christianity.

Many mountain passes have a historic celebrity. The Dariel Pass, or Caucasus Gate, as it was anciently called, at the southern frontier of Russia and the Caucasus, tells many a tale of heroic struggles for Caucasian independence from Russian rule. This pass is the only carriage communication between Russia and her Transcaucasian possessions, opening as it does the way from Mozdok to Tiflis and the Valley of Terek. Russia has endeavored to guard against further trouble by the erection of strong fortifications at either end of the pass. No reader of current history will fail to notice the important part played by mountain passes on the eastern front in the present world-war.

Caverns were burial-places as well as places of worship. In some cases both requirements are combined. An illustration of this may be found in the beautiful Grotto of St. Rosalia, at Monte Pelegrino, some distance from Palermo. St. Rosalia, a Norman princess, as pious and charitable as she was beautiful, retired from the world to lead a life of contemplation. She found a suitable retreat in the recesses of what was once known as Mount Erecta, memorable in history as the stronghold where Hamilcar held out for five years against the legions of Rome. Here her life of prayer and meditation was spent unobtrusively, and in 1159 she passed to her heavenly reward. Tradition kept the memory of her deeds of charity in the minds of the good people of Palermo, and 500 years after her death, when the city and surrounding country were desolated by a plague, the people, as is the custom in many parts of Central and Southern Europe, made pious pilgrimages to celebrated sanctuaries to implore the mercy of heaven. A devout citizen remembered the story of holy Rosalia and organized a pilgrimage to her long-neglected cavern-tomb. Her bones were found, carefully gathered up and carried around the city three times in solemn procession with prayer and chant. The wail of the distressed was heard, the plague ceased and St. Rosalia became to Palermo what St. Januarius is to Naples. As an act of thanksgiving her long-neglected grotto was transformed into a chapel. Here, too, was erected a beautiful statue of the young virgin, kneeling at the foot of a cross, with clasped hands as if pleading for the people of Palermo. So unexpectedly and mysteriously does this figure break upon the visitor that even at a few paces it could be easily mistaken for a pious daughter of Palermo in deep prayer and meditation. A number of little lamps suspended at intervals shed a faint light which enhances the illusion, while their shifting, wavering rays seem to communicate their movements to the sacred effigy. The head and hands have been sculptured in fine Parian marble, the draperies are of gilded bronze and sparkle with the costly gems with which they are incrusted. Meyerbeer, in his opera of "Robert le Diable," has transformed this chapel into a monastery supposed to have been founded by St. Rosalia, and here Robert, guided by Bertram, comes in search of

> "Le rameau toujours vert, talisman re doute,
> Qui donne la richesse et l'immortalites."

The Grotto of St. Rosalia is reached by a magnificent road, the Scala, built at State expense, and which rises like a staircase (from which it takes its name) from terrace to terrace to the very entrance of the grotto far up the mountains. Adjoining the entrance was erected the monastery for the monks in charge of the shrine.

The cave of Jedburgh, with those of Crickup Linn, in Dunfrieshire, Scotland, are often visited by the curious from their picturesque and romantic position and the story which Walter Scott has told about the Covenanters.

A writer in the "London Daily Chronicle" mentions some very interesting facts connected with Thiepval, the fortified village on the Somme, which has figured so prominently in the British reports since the beginning of the July-August offensive undertaken by the Entente Allies.

Putting aside all sensational and legendary stories that are now in circulation concerning the Chateau of Thiepval, suffice it to say that it was built in 1725 and that it lately became the property of a M. Henri Portier, a member of the Ecole Normale, officer of the Legion of Honor and a retired officer of the French army. After acquiring the chateau, M. Portier made a great many alterations in the building and employed none but French mechanics from Paris to do the work. It was only in June, 1914, that he and his family were able to take possession, but their stay was of short duration, for they were glad to escape from it on the morning of August 27, 1914, just as the German Uhlans were entering the village.

The German commander who came to inspect the chateau expressed surprise at the limited extent of the cellars and insisted that there were others. A writer in the "Gaulois" tells us that the whole region of the Somme, especially in the vicinity of Thiepval, was full of subterranean passages. According to the legends, these passages led from the ruins of an old feudal castle to the marshes of Beaucourt. They were closed up some three centuries ago to prevent the village children from losing themselves in the labyrinths. It is more than probable that some such passages still exist and that the Germans were aware of the fact. "What is beyond question," says the writer in the "Gaulois," "is that in the whole region, from Doullens to Bray, Combles and Albert, traces can be found of vast caves and fissures known in the chalk by prehistoric rivers whose courses can still be traced by geologists."

The writer goes still further and mentions the underground city of Naours, the caves of Behancourt, the subterranean passages of Engleheimer and Rossignol, which, although unknown to the inhabitants, can yet be explored by people of a venturesome spirit. They were the work of men, intending in many cases to serve as shelters and hiding places for the inhabitants during the successive invasions which the region has seen since the days of the Romans. German *tourists* before the war frequently "visited" Naours and the other subterranean vestiges of the past.[2]

In fine, the primitive refuges of man and beast which kind Mother Nature has provided are storehouses for the ethnologist and antiquarian; they are monuments that outlast the works of human hands which crumble and perish. While the caverns of Palestine, being devoid of stalagtite and stalagmite, could not suggest to the Canaanite wanderers the images of sylvan deities which the shepherds of ancient Hellas naturally found in the grottoes of Parnassus and Hymetus, yet from other points of vision the Biblical student especially can never lose sight of them. In these countless rents and cavities and holes, as we have indicated in different parts of this paper, we see the origin of burial places which to this day, partly natural and partly wrought by the hand of man, penetrate the rocky walls of the valleys of the Jordan. We see the long line of tombs beginning with the cave of Machpelah and ending with the grave of Lazarus—which was "a cave and a stone upon it"—and "the sepulchre hewn in the rock wherein never man before was laid." We see how the people of the land sought shelter during the terrible visitations of their day, when "Lot went up to Zoar and dwelt in a cave," or as when in the day Uzziah, King of Judah, they "fled before the earthquake to the ravines of the mountains;" to the rocky fissures, safer, even though they themselves were rent by the convulsions, than the habitations of man. Again, we see the Hebrews pursued by Herod's hordes seeking refuge in the lofty mountain caverns of Palestine, only to see their cruel pursuers let down from overhanging cliffs in huge, solid caissons suspended by means of iron chains until they reached the level of the refuge—caverns of their victims whom they slaughtered mercilessly, not even sparing their wives and children.

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[2] Since writing the above, reports come to us from "the front" telling us that the Germans availed themselves of the caves around Thiepval during a recent battle; that from time to time their heads appeared above ground like woodchucks as they amused themselves "sniping" the enemy Their sport was soon spoiled, however, by the newly invented British "caterpillars," better known as "tanks," which routed them out of their hiding places.

Again, we see these caverns as the hiding-places which at one time served for the defense of robbers and insurgents, and yet again as a refuge for those "of whom the world was not worthy," the prototype of the Catacombs of the early Christians.

Though the subject of Cave Homes and Shrines is an interesting one, the limited space of a magazine article precludes us from entering still further upon its consideration, or we might show how the caves of Germany and Switzerland were likewise a refuge of the oppressor when the Roman legions extended the supremacy of Rome from the Apenines to the Black Forest and from the Tiber to the Elbe.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE INTERCOMMUNION "IN SACRIS" BETWEEN THE ANGLICAN AND THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES DURING THE YEARS 1866-1870.

THE movement towards a recognition of the validity of Anglican orders by the Eastern Churches, a movement which, as we said in a previous article, was inaugurated in England by the Eastern Church Association founded in April, 1864, and in the United States by the Russo-Greek committee in 1862, began to attract the attention of Russian Churchmen and divines.

In 1864 Anglican theologians who were in favor of the approach of their own Church towards the Eastern Orthodox invited to London the archpriest Joseph Vasilevich Vasiliev (1827-1881), the learned chaplain and founder of the church of the imperial Russian embassy at Paris. Vasiliev was known at that time as the brightest representative of the Russian Church abroad, and as the converter to orthodoxy of a French priest, Francis Xavier started publishing at Paris a sectarian paper against the Church of Guettée, who, after his apostasy, took the name of Vladimir, and his priesthood, "L'Union Chrétienne" (1851-1893). Vasiliev was very pleased with the proposals of union of Anglican theologians, although he did not believe that they could be realized. He promised his support to his new friends of England, and discussed the problem of the relations of Anglicanism to Russian Orthodoxy in a series of papers inserted in the "Union Chrétienne."[1]

A more prominent actor in the history of the relations between the Anglican and the Eastern churches was Eugenii Jvanovich Popov (d. 1875), the archpriest of the Imperial Russian Embassy at the Court of St. James.[2] In 1865 he published at Moscow a pamphlet entitled "The Origin of the Movement of the Anglican Church Towards Its Reunion With the Eastern Churches." He wrote also a memorandum discussing the opportunity of accepting Anglican priests and faithful into the communion of the Orthodox Churches. A copy of this memorandum, with manuscript notes and objections by Philarete, metropolitan of Moscow, is to be found among the papers left to the ecclesiastical academy of Petrograd by Isidor (formerly Jakov Sergeevich Nikolskii), metropolitan of Petrograd (1799-1892). Archpriest Orlov championed also the cause of the union and discussed the problem of the validity of Anglican orders in many papers inserted in the "Pravoslavnoe Obozriene" ("The Orthodox Review"), Moscow; the "Dukhovnaia Besieda" ("The Orthodox Conference") and the "Strannik" ("The Wanderer") of Petrograd.

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[1] Rodossky A., "Biographical Dictionary of the Students of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Petrograd" (in Russian). Petrograd, 1907, pp. 67-68. J. Vasiliev, "Poiedza v Anglii dlia sobesiedovaniia o soedinenii anglikanskoi tzerkvi s pravoslavnoiu" ("A visit to England for a conference on the union of the Anglican Church with the Orthodox Church"). "Chtenia (Lectures) of the Society of History and Russian Antiquities of Moscow," 1866; Vol. I., pp. 142-159.

[2] Rodossky, pp. 373-374.

On the 15th of November, 1865, a meeting of prominent members of the Russian and Anglican Churches to draw closer the bonds of love between the two communions was held in London. The meeting consisted of eighty members of the Anglican Church, including the Bishops of Oxford, Lincoln and Edinburgh, and of three members of the Russian Church, viz., Archpriest Popov, Count Alexi Tolstoi and Prince Nicholas Orlov, Russian Ambassador to the Court of Brussels.

The meeting was a complete failure. Its members confined themselves to academic logomachies about the cordial relations between England and Russia. The truth of our statement is made plain by a letter of Prince Nicholas Orlov, dated from Brussels, February 4, 1866, and printed in the "London Times." No engagements, no illusory promises, were made on either side, all of us being aware that the character of the meeting was to be perfectly informal and that the sole object of the meeting was to try and ascertain by what means the Churches to which we severally belonged might some day be brought near together. Two distinct opinions were in favor of immediate intercommunion without waiting for dogmatic unity. Others felt that dogmatic unity must naturally precede intercommunion. All, however, were agreed upon one point —that it would be both useful and necessary to promote on both sides a careful study of the history and doctrine of the two Churches and to work out as clearly as possible the wide extent of Gospel truth held by them both, as well as to limit and facilitate the discussion of all points of doctrine and practice on which they may differ. The impression left upon my mind by this meeting was that a deep feeling of Christian love had brought together persons of different countries assembled in Christ's name, who, after some hours of conversation, carried away with them the conviction that, let the results be what they might, they at least had fulfilled their duty as Christians in striving earnestly to find a means for bringing nearer to each other two important and severed branches of the Church of Christ.[3]

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[3] Journal of the proceedings of the Bishops, clergy and laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church assembled in a general convention held in the city of New York from October 17 to October 29, inclusive, in the year of Our Lord 1868. Hartford, 1869; pp. 481-482.

This letter was suggested by the desire of answering the clamors of Russian theologians, who accused and blamed the Orthodox members of the above mentioned meeting as having participated in the prayers of Anglican heretics.[4] "The Eastern Orthodox Church," Orlov remarked, "has never forbidden its members from joining in any form of prayer with other Christians, more especially with those who pray for the peace of the whole world and the union of divided Christendom."

To forward the cause of the validity of their hierarchy, Anglican theologians had recourse to three different ways: (1) The publication of pamphlets and books, either defending their claims or acquainting English readers with the history, liturgy and teaching of the Eastern Churches; (2) the visits of their Bishops or delegates to the Russian and Greek Churches; (3) the opening of direct relations with the hierarchies of both the Churches mentioned.

In 1866 the Eastern Church Association inaugurated a series of "Occasional Papers" on various topics connected with the Eastern Church. The first published was "The Apostolical Succession in the Church of England—A letter to a Russian friend," by the Rev. William Stubbs, M. A., librarian to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury and Vicar of Navestock, London, 1866. "The purpose of the treatise is to vindicate the claims of the Anglican Church to be regarded as an integral part of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, and, as such, entitled to recognition and full spiritual communion with all other Churches which hold the essential points of doctrine and discipline which together constitute the faith once delivered to the saints."

The example of the Eastern Church Association was followed by the Russo-Greek committee. Before his election to the episcopate of Florida, Rev. John Freeman Young published a series of tracts and documents bearing on the faith and worship, the principles and practices of the Orthodox Church of the East and on the measures for reunion. Some of these documents concern the relations between the British clergy and the Eastern Patriarchs and the Holy Synod in the reign of Peter the Great. A volume of the second series, which was interrupted by the consecration of Bishop Young, appeared in 1867.[5]

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[4] Po povodu Londonskago mitinga o soedinenii tzerkvei. (On the occasion of the London meeting for the union of churches.) Moskovskiia Viedomosti, 1866; n. 10.

[5] We give here the list of the "Occasional Papers" issued during the years 1864-1874. They are now out of print and very rarely to be found in American libraries: (1) Stubbs Williams, op. cit. (2) E. B. Pusey: The essential unity of the Christian Church. (3) Yearning of the unity in the

The same year two prominent members of the Eastern Church Association visited the Orthodox Churches to study the feelings of Eastern prelates towards the Anglican Hierarchy. According to a memorial of the Eastern Church Association with the date of September 19, 1868, and the signature of George F. Boyle, chairman, the Primus of the Church of Scotland, Robert Eden, at the request of the Bishop of Moray (1852-1886), and in the place of the Bishop of London, held confirmations at St. Petersburg and Moscow, and the welcome which he received as a Bishop from the sainted Metropolitan Philaret and other leading prelates was most affectionate. One and all expressed the deepest interest in the proposed reunion of the Churches, introducing the subject themselves and often showing an astonishing knowledge of the Anglican Church.[6]

Philarete declared to him that theologians on either side would be able to reconcile the differences between the Eastern and the Anglican Churches, but that the obstacles to the reunion would be with the people. The Primus answered that the Church of England would have to face the same difficulty, for the people in Eng-

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East; from the writings of the Metropolitan of Chios; translated by George Williams. (4) Union between the Anglican and the Orthodox Church of the East; the Metropolitan of Chios, with introduction by George Williams. (5) Impression of a recent visit to Russia; a letter from the Primus of Scotland. (6) Church government in Russia; by a lay member of the Orthodox Church. (7) Edmund S. Ffoulkes on the Filioque. (8) A catechism of the Armenian Church; translated by C. S. Malan. (9) The Hellenic spirit; the Metropolitan of Chios; translated by George Williams. (10) William Fraser: The Patriarch of Rome and the Patriarchs of the East. (11) Reports of the committee of convocation on intercommunion with the Orthodox Eastern Churches. (12) The Liturgies of St. Basil, St. Gregory and St. Cyril; translated from a Coptic MS. of the thirteenth century by the Rev. J. M. Rodwell. (13) The difference between the Greek and Armenian Churches. (14) A collection of documents relating chiefly to the visit of the Archbishop of Syros and Tenos to England in 1870. (15) A sermon preached in the Church of the Presentation of the B. V. Mary at Constantinople by Cleobulos, Metropolitan of Caesarea of Cappadocia, on occasion of a thanksgiving service for the recovery of the Prince of Wales; translated by Rev. G. Williams. (16) Report of the committee of Canterbury convocation on intercommunion presented July 10, 1874; a new series of occasional papers started in 1893 after a long interruption of twenty years. Among the papers edited by the Russo-Greek committee during the years 1865-1867 we mention the following: (1) Comparative statement of Russo-Greek and Roman Catholic doctrines. (2) Sermons and addresses by highest dignitaries in the Russian-Greek Church. (3) The divine liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. (4) The offices of Holy Baptism and Confirmation, Ordination and Confession in the Orthodox Eastern Church. (5) The Encyclical Epistle of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church to the faithful everywhere, being a reply to that Epistle of Pius IX. to the Easterns.

[6] Journal of the general convention, p. 428.

land were convinced that the Eastern Churches did not greatly differ from the Roman Church. "If the people of England," Philarete replied, "think that the Eastern Church is like the Roman, I am not surprised that they should entertain a strong feeling against it."[7]

The second "missus dominicus" of the Eastern Church Association was the Rev. George Williams, of Kings College. He visited the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch and Jerusalem, the theological schools of the Greek Church, and the Metropolitan of Chios, Gregory of Byzantium, a warm defender of reunion. According to a report of the Russo-Greek committee, he found that an earnest desire was everywhere manifested for frequent intercourse between the two Churches, and only in one instance had he reason to believe that it was thought that intercommunion involved the condition of submission to the Orthodox Church of the East[8]

For the sake of truth, however, we need to say that the optimism of the reports of both the Anglican Associations rested upon no solid ground. Even the chairman of the Eastern Church Association, George F. Boyle, felt obliged to avow in his report of the year 1868 that Russian Bishops considered the doubts as to the validity of Anglican orders as one of the chief obstacles to reunion.

No wonder, then, if the association charged Archpriest Popov to set such doubts at rest by means of historical explanations. They requested him to present to the Holy Synod a facsimile copy of the record of Archbishop Parker's consecration, preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, together with a formally attested transcript of the register of the consecration now existing in the archives of Lambeth.

I do not know for what reasons the ruling members of the association placed their reliance on the Russian archpriest. Probably they were not able to follow the controversies of Russian theologians in Russian periodical reviews. Archpriest Popov agreed with Metropolitan Philarete in doubting the validity of Anglican orders. The reasons for his doubts, or rather of his disguised denial of that validity, were put forward in a paper inserted in the "Khristianskoe Chtenie" ("The Christian Reading"), the official organ of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Petrograd.[9]

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[7] Ibid., p. 484. Impressions of a recent visit to Russia; a letter from the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Moray and Ross, Primus of Scotland. London, 1867; p. 10.

[8] Ibid., p. 483. A letter from the Most Reverend Metropolitan of Chios on the project of union between the Anglican and the Orthodox Church of the East. London, 1867.

[9] Niechto o preemstvie apostolskago rukopolozheniia v Anglikanskoi tzerkvi. (Some words about the succession of the apostolical consecration in the Anglican Church.) Khristianskoe chtenie; 1870; I., pp. 188-198. The paper is directed against the validity of the consecration of Parker.

The reports of the High Procurators of the Holy Synod for 1868, 1869, 1870, 1872 touch upon the Anglican proposals with the sole view of magnifying the power and truth of Orthodoxy which reveals itself in clearer rays and wins irresistibly the most sincere sympathies. According to the report of 1865, the tendency of the Anglican Church to approach the Orthodox communion was to be looked upon with the most sincere attention. The Holy Synod declared itself to be ready to facilitate the means for the reunion of the Anglican Church with the Orthodox. The reports lay stress upon the fact that the Anglican and the American Episcopal Churches recognize the purity of the Orthodox faith and the urgent need of revising their beliefs in accordance with those of the Orthodox Church. They magnify the conversion of some Anglicans, including priests, to Russian or Greek orthodoxy, and in veiled terms they explain Anglican proposals for intercommunion as a preliminary step to the submission of the Anglican Churches to the Eastern Churches.[10]

There were also Russian priests or divines who suggested setting up a branch of the Eastern Church in England, with a view of proselyting from the English Church. Anglicans were not backward in protesting against such attempts. A report, indeed, of the Russo-Greek committee read at the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church held in Baltimore, Md., in 1871, reads as follows: "It is to be hoped that the intention of setting up a branch of the Eastern Church within the jurisdiction of Anglican Bishops (which would be rightly styled schismatical), if ever entertained, has been quite abandoned. To authorize proselyting from the Anglican Church would be an act of hostility to her —it would tend to retard the work of unity and inflict a new wound on Catholicity. Yet can we say that even such a step would entirely frustrate the hopes of future reunion? No. We believe that the false step taken would soon be retraced and that God would overrule all for good. Our longing for unity is not from considerations personal to ourselves, but we know the unity of His Church is according to the mind of Christ, and we seek the fulfillment of our Saviour's prayer on the night in which He was betrayed, that "all may be one."[11]

Already in the report of the committee of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, dated from June 7, 1867, it was pointed out in clearest terms that the Anglican Churches were decidedly opposed to any absorption by the Eastern Churches. They desired only the recognition of their sacraments by the Orthodox hierarchy, with the express condition that such a concession would not involve the blotting out of Anglican religious traditions, customs, liturgy and theological beliefs. "Intercommunion is not, as many persons imagined, the fusion of one Church into another; there is no question of submitting ourselves to the authority of the Orthodox Church of the East or requiring such submission from her. Neither is it on the one hand to engraft into our own Church any of the doctrines, rites or ceremonies peculiar to other Churches, nor, on the other hand, to require them to abandon what may seem to us superfluous and to conform themselves to the measure of our simplicity. No; the intercommunion which we seek is simply the mutual acknowledgment that all Churches which are one in the possession of a true episcopate, one in sacraments and one in their creed are, by their union in their common Lord, bound to receive one another to full communion in prayers and sacraments as members of the same household of faith."[12]

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[10] A. Dobroklonsky. Rukovodstvo po istorii russkoi tzerkvi. (Handbook of history of the Russian Church.) Moscow, 1893; Vol. IV., pp. 282-283.

[11] Journal of the general convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church held in the city of Baltimore in 1871. Printed for the convention. 1872; p. 577.

The most important step for the acceptance of the validity of Anglican orders by the Eastern Churches was taken in 1869. The convocation of the Vatican Council by Pius IX. was looked upon as a favorable occasion for a closer friendship and alliance between the Anglican and the Eastern Churches. They both considered the Papacy as the greatest obstacle to the reunion of Christendom, and the Vatican[12] and the council as a challenge to the principles of the unaltered Christian faith embodies in their own confessions. As is known, the Oriental Patriarchs refused to accept even the letters of invitation to the council presented to them by the representatives of the Holy See in the East. Their example was followed by the Anglican Churches. The Right Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln (1807-1885), famous for his anti-Latin attitude and his controversial writings, published his "Responsio Anglicana litteris apostolicis Pii Papae IX. ad omnes protestantes aliosque acatholicos." The tone of the answer is somewhat bitter, especially in its close. The reasons for which the Protestant Episcopal Church could not participate in the Vatican Council were explained by the Right Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, Bishop of Western New York (1865-1896).[13]

Anglican Bishops appealed to the Eastern Churches against the

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[12] Journal of the general convention (1868); p. 485.

[13] The answers of the Anglican and the Eastern Churches to the letters and appeals of Pius IX. were translated into Italian and published in a volume: Risposte orientali e occidentali all' invito papale pel futuro concilio vaticano. Firenze, 1869.

Roman Church. If, following her ecclesiastical policy, Anglican divines argued, the Roman Church reaches the ultimate outcome of her doctrinal evolution or deviation and centralizes the supreme authority of the Church in the hands of the Pope, why could not the other branches of Catholicity fuse together against such an increasing of Papal usurpations? The Vatican Council deserved a practical answer on the side of the Churches that rightly claim to themselves the title and the privileges of Catholicity, and a reunion of the Eastern and the Anglican Churches on the common basis of intercommunion and Christian fellowship would have been a counterpoise to the boundless authority of the Popes and a wall built up against the flood of invasion of Roman Catholicism.

In the report of the joint committee of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, dated June 15, 1869, we read as follows:

"It is impossible to estimate too highly the importance of intercommunion between these long-severed branches of Christ's Universal Church at a time when the Bishop of Rome has convoked, on his own authority, what he calls an Oecumenical Council, at which none of the patriarchs or other prelates of these Churches can be present consistently with canonical order and primitive precedent. The answers of the patriarchs and other prelates of the Orthodox communion to the summons addressed to them have sufficiently vindicated their grounds of refusal, while the now famous "Responsio Anglicana" of the Bishop of Lincoln equally establishes our own.[14]

The committee asked the Bishops of the Upper House to take steps toward opening direct negotiations with the Eastern patriarchs and metropolitans with a view to establish such relations between the two communions as shall enable the laity and clergy of either to join in the sacraments and offices of the other without forfeiting the communion of their own Church. It was recommended that the effort should be made to obtain from the Eastern Churches:

1—That the rites of Christian burial should be accorded by the local Orthodox clergy to the members of the English Church in danger of death without the possibility of receiving religious offices from their own clergy.

2—That the children of English parents born in the East might be able to receive the sacrament of baptism from Orthodox priests, especially in the case of danger of death and in the absence of an English chaplain. It was observed, however, that the relations of such children to the Anglican Church should not be considered modified or changed by their Orthodox baptism.

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[14] Journal of the convention (1871); pp. 565-566.

3—That Eastern clergymen might be allowed to celebrate marriage between English people or where one party only was English.

4—That Eastern clergymen might administer the Holy Communion to Anglicans dying or in danger of death, or traveling and at a distance from an English church. Here it was observed that "It would often be a source of deep comfort and a work of the greatest Christian benevolence if such persons, when earnestly desiring Holy Communion, being previously furnished with commendatory letters from their clergyman and their Bishop, could in their need receive that Blessed Sacrament from the hands of the Eastern clergy."

5—That in return for these concessions the English Church would be ready to minister the same offices of religion, of charity and Christian relationship to the members of the Eastern Church.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Rev. Archibald Campbell Tait (1868-1882), agreed to the request of convocation and wrote to the Patriarch of Constantinople a kind letter, full of praises and laudatory expressions towards the most ancient and unadulterated faith of the Eastern Church and the Oecumenical Pariarchate.

The Church of Constantinople was governed at that time by Gregory VI. (1835-1840, 1867-1871), a strong asserter of the Orthodox beliefs against the novelty-loving Western Christians. During his first Patriarchate Gregory VI. had published an encyclical letter (1836) against the calamitous heresies of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin and the translations of the Holy Scripture made by Protestant wolves, and another invective of the same kind (1838) against the pernicious, cankering and pestilent blasphemies of Latin and Papistic spoilers of the Christian faith. The style of both the documents is exceedingly virulent, and it is to be hoped, for the sake of the good Christian name, that the violence of those specimens of controversy will be in the future a sad memory of the past.[15]

Such being the trend of mind of the Patriarch, it was hardly to be expected that he should favor with his authority the proposals of the Anglican Church. He answered, however, the letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had also presented him with an artistically bound copy of the Prayer Book and the Thirty-nine Articles.

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[15] Sokolov Ivan Ivanovich. Konstantinopolskaia tzerkov. The Church of Constantinople.) Petrograd, 1904; pp. 599-632. Id. Borba Grigoriia VI. s inoslavnoiu propagandoiu na Vostokie. (The struggle of Gregory VI. against the Heterodox propaganda in the East.) Khristianskoe Chtenie, 1909; pp. 908-931; 1148-1179; 1313-1341; 1433-1451; 1636-1732; A. Palmieri, Theologia dogmatica orthodoxa, Florentiae, 1911; Vol. I., pp. 632-634.

His answer, written in a gorgeous style, contains little concession to the Anglican requests and many recriminations against Anglican *novelties*. In this respect it sounds like the old answer of the Eastern Patriarchs sent to the Bishop's Non-Jurors in 1716.[16]

The Patriarch starts with asserting against some statements of the Thirty-nine Articles that the true faith of Christ has been delivered to the Eastern Churches through the apostles, heralds of God, and the God-inspired fathers and the seven venerable and God-moved Oecumenical Councils. Then he expresses his willingness to offer every facility to bury English strangers in the Orthodox cemeteries, for in the East, "as everywhere under the sun, the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof."

The concession is granted, however, on the condition that no private right of property be in any case acquired in the ground in which they are buried.

As concerns the prayers to be said by Orthodox priests in the case of the burial of deceased Anglicans in Orthodox cemeteries, the Synod of Constantinople, in full accordance with the will of the Patriarch, sent a letter to the Metropolitans of the Patriarchate to exhort them that if there be no Anglican priests at hand to bury a member of their own Church, two Orthodox priests may accompany the corpse, saying the Trisagion Hymn, the 118th (Septante) Psalm, the Epistle (Thess. iv., 13-18) and the Gospel (St. John v., 24-31) of the funeral order. This document is dated from October 11, 1869. It illustrates the rigorous discipline of the Greek Church as to her relations to the so-called Western heterodoxy. In fact, a letter of Callinikos II. (1694-1702), Patriarch of Constantinople, dated November, 1701, declared as impossible *(adynaton)* the burial of Western heretics by Orthodox priests.[17]

The letter of the Patriarch keeps silent as to the celebration of marriages of Anglicans by Orthodox priests and the participation of Anglicans in the Holy Communion of the Orthodox Church. Several documents issued by Greek Patriarchs and the Patriarchal Synods of Constantinople forbid expressly the administering of

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[16] Palmieri, Op. cit., pp. 628-629; E. Michaud, Une tentative d'union entre Anglicans et Orthodoxes de 1716-1725, Revue internationale de theologie, 1906; pp. 330-332; Chrysostomos Papadopulos. (An attempt to the union between Non-Jurors and the Orthodox Churches) (in Greek); Alexandria, 1911.

[17] Theotokas Michael, Nomologia of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (in Greek); Constantinople, 1897; p. 363. I. Sokolov, in Pravoslavnaia bogoslovskaia entziklopediia. (The orthodox theological encyclopedia); Vol. VIII.; Petrograd, 1907; col. 36.

Communion to Western Christians, whether Catholics or Protestants, even in danger of death, and also the celebration of their marriages by Orthodox priests.[18]

According to the canon law of the Orthodox Churches, dogmatic unity of faith is needed as a *conditio sine qua non* for participation in the Orthodox sacraments, and that condition was practically denied by the teaching of the Thirty-nine Articles.

In his letter the Patriarch declared that he found "too much of novelty" in the confession of the Thirty-nine Articles. The novelty concerns the eternal existence of the Holy Spirit, the Divine Eucharist, the number of sacraments, apostolical and ecclesiastical tradition, the authority of the truly genuine Oecumenical Councils, the position and mutual relations of the Church on earth and that in heaven, the honor and reverence due to the contemplative and active heroes of the faith, and to the martyrs and ascetics, and the assertion of the nineteenth article that the Church of Rome as well as those of Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch have erred not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith. The Patriarch branded this last statement as an intrusion, a depreciation of the faith of the most ancient Patriarchates of the East, a denial of the soundness and perfection of their teaching. He concluded his letter with a vaporous aspiration towards reunion in the meaning which the Orthodox prelates attach to the word: "We will pray with our whole soul to the Author and Finisher of our salvation to enlighten the understanding of all with the light of His knowledge and to make all nations of one speech, one faith, and one love, and one hope of the Gospel; that with one mouth and one heart, as compassionate children of one and the same mother, the Church—the first-born and Catholic Church—we may glorify the Triune God."[19]

The tone of the Patriarchal answer was more than discouraging. The Patriarch did not alter any word about the main purpose of the Anglican requests. It is therefore astonishing that the joint committee of both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury expressed feelings of satisfaction with it and drew out of the cautious phrases of the Patriarch the most favorable auspices for the realization of their plans. In fact, the report of the committee of the Lower House of 1870 asserts that the reception of a letter conceding with so much charity and cordiality the request of the Anglican Primate as to the burial of Anglican dead "indicates a most friendly and Christian-like recognition on his part of the position of the Church of England as a branch of Christ's Universal

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[18] Theotokas; pp. 364-367.

[19] Journal of the Convention (1871); p. 568.

Church and a liberal-hearted willingness to proceed to more intimate relations with the Anglican communion."

The report insists again upon the meaning and limits of the intercommunion longed for, the object of which is not the adoption of any parts of the ritual or of the ecclesiastical institutions of the Eastern Churches, but the mutual recognition of the sacraments and rites of either Church within their respective jurisdictions.

The great blunder of the Anglican hierarchy was the sending to the Patriarch of the Thirty-nine Articles as a specimen, authorized or not, it matters little, of the religious beliefs of the Church of England. The Eastern Churches assign a great value to their symbolical books and consider their confessions of faith as the genuine expression of their teaching. No wonder, then, if the Thirty-nine Articles officially presented to the Patriarch by Anglican theologians assumed, in his eye, the character of a genuine confession of faith of the Church of England.

Anglican divines tried to repair the breach widened between the two Churches by derogating from the authority of the Thirty-nine Articles. The report previously quoted declares that the articles are not strictly a confession of faith, but are, as their title declares, articles of religion, drawn up more than three centuries ago, in special relation to the controversy of the Church of England with the See of Rome in regard to the novelties introduced into Christian doctrine by the latter. "In order to avoid novelty, they declare (Art. VI.) that Holy Scripture is the basis of all dogmatic teaching. In this the Orthodox Church would agree with us, as they would agree with us in maintaining that Christian antiquity is the true interpreter of Holy Scripture."[20]

Unfortunately the Eastern Churches were not able to agree with the unsatisfactory explanation of Anglican divines. They did not pay attention to the historical origin of the Thirty-nine Articles and the influence exerted upon them by contemporaneous circumstances, attention being paid only to their contents. The Anglican Church, they remarked, had no right to rise up against Roman novelties by introducing more wicked novelties in the field of Christian doctrine. If Roman formularies of faith have their wrongs and stains, that is no reason for which the Anglican Church should reach the other extreme and throw overboard some of the dogmatic teachings of the primitive Catholic Church—for instance, the Real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Holy Eucharist, the septenary number of sacraments, the worship of the Blessed Virgin and so on.

Besides, Anglican theology has not defined the true position of the Thirty-nine Articles in the theological system and in the beliefs of the Church of England. On this point the conduct of the American Episcopal Church has followed the inspiration of a more logical and practical spirit, and for this reason American Episcopalians rightly claim to be in a better condition than the Anglican Church to carry on the movement towards reunion.[21] After the war for independence, in 1789 and 1792, the American Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church discussed the opportunity of superseding the Thirty-nine Articles, above all, for political reasons. In 1789 Bishop Samuel Seabury (1784-1796) declared that he doubted whether there was need of that standard of faith in the national Church.[22]

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[20] Ibid., p. 569.

The conservative wing of the Episcopal Church had the ascendency over the radical one and the doctrinal inheritance of the Anglican Church was preserved. The conservative movement was headed by Bishop William White (1787-1836). In 1801, we read in his "Memoirs," it was found that the doctrines of the Gospel, as they stand in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, with the exception of such matters as are local, were more likely to give general satisfaction than the same doctrines in any new form that might be devised. The former was therefore adopted by the two houses of the general convention without altering the obsolete diction in them; but with a few changes, including a change of situation which had been rendered necessary.[23]

"The purpose of the maintainers of the ancient confession of the

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[21] In a letter addressed by Charles Chapman Grafton (1830-1912), Bishop of Fond du Lac, to Antonii (Basil Iovlevich Vadkovsky), Metropolitan of Petrograd (1898-1912), we read as follows: "In the approachment of the two communions, that portion of the Anglican Church which is in the United States stands the nearest to your venerated body. Politically the governments of the two countries, Russia and the United States, have always maintained most happy relations, and our Church here in America is unlike the Church in England, in being free from any State control, and so free to act in its recovery of Catholicity and its intercourse with other Churches. The Thirty-nine Articles do not form a portion of our Prayer Book, though bound up with it, and subscription to them is not required by us as it is in England. Our Liturgy and Eucharist differs from that in the English book in that the doctrines of the Priesthood, Altar and Sacrifice are more explicitly and fully stated."—B. Talbot Rogers, Bishop Grafton and the Eastern Orthodox Churches, Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift, Bern, 1916, pp. 251-252; Mary Nikolaevich Berchensona, Antonii, mitropolit S. Peterburgskii i Ladozhskii, Petrograd, 1915, pp. 123-131.

[22] E. H. Browne: An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, Historical and Doctrinal; New York, 1865; pp. 16-17.

[23] W. White: Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America; third edition; De Costa; New York, 1880; pp. 210-221. W. S. Perry: A Handbook of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church; New York, 1881; pp. 98-103.

Church of England was to identify the American branch of Anglicanism doctrinally with the Mother Church."[24]

Yet the victory of the conservative wing was far from being complete. Some alterations and additions were adopted by the general convention of 1801 in order to adapt the Thirty-nine Articles to the ideals and tendencies of the American Church, and in the convention of 1804 a canon requesting the subscription by the American clergy to them was not enacted.[25]

Hence it follows that the Thirty-nine Articles have no binding force upon the individual conscience in the American Episcopal Church. They have to be considered as a theological monument of a past age, as the product of a theological school which worked out its tenets under the influences of the time. According to an Episcopalian theologian, Samuel McConnell, "They are a section of sixteenth century thought transferred to the nineteenth. They have never exercised any appreciable influence upon the life or belief of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Like all contemporary confessions, they have largely ceased to be intelligible. They are a water mark of a previous tide. The current of the Church has flowed on unmindful of them."[26]

On the contrary, the position of the Church of England towards the Thirty-nine Articles is exceedingly puzzling. Officially, they are considered as the genuine profession of faith of the Church of England. Since 1604 all the clergy at the time of their ordination and when receiving licenses are obliged to give their assent to the Thirty-nine Articles and to believe the doctrines set forth therein.[27]

Notwithstanding the attempts made in 1689 and 1772 to relax or to annul the rigor of the subscription of the clergy to them, in 1865 the Church of England established that a clergyman on the first Sunday that he officiates must publicly and openly in the presence of his congregation read the whole Thirty-nine Articles of Religion and, immediately after reading them, make the declaration of assent to them.[28]

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[24] Charles C. Tiffany: A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America; New York, 1895; pp. 399-400.

[25] William Stevens Perry: Journals of General Conventions (1785-1821); Claremont, N. H., 1874; p. 301.

[26] Johannes, Bishop of Izistorii religionznykh sekt v Amerikie. (From the History of the Religious Sects in America). Moscow, 1882; IV., p. 327. The Liturgy and the Articles: The American Quarterly Church Review, New York; XXI., 1870; pp. 590-607. The declaration to be subscribed by the candidates to holy orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church reads as follows: "I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation; and I do solemnly engage to conform to the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." See also A. Rozhdestvensky, Simvolischeskiia i bogosluzhebnyia knigi anglikanskoi tzerkvi, kak vyrazhenie eia vierosoznaniia. (The symbolical and liturgical books of the Anglican Church as expressing her religious beliefs.) Kiev, 1908.

[27] F. W. Worsley: "The Theology of the Church of England." New York, 1913; p. 18. B. J. Kidd: "The Thirty-nine Articles: Their History and Explanation," Rivington, 1899; I., pp. 52-53.

We must admit, therefore, that they have the value of an authentic rule of faith in the Church of England, at least for the members of the clergy. It may be granted, as Worsley observes, that the assent of the clergy is given with some reserve; that the subscription is made with the qualifications necessitated by the new light thrown upon certain doctrines in recent times.[29] Yet it remains true that officially they continue in force. They represent in England the Magna Charta of the doctrinal constitution of the Anglican Church and the foundation of its sundering from Rome.

This being so, it cannot be denied that Gregory VI. acted prudently in refusing to agree to the proposals of the Anglican divines. The sacramental life of the Church is inseparably connected with the body of her doctrinal tenets and the rules of her faith, and the Eastern Churches with good reason claimed that they could not allow participation in their sacraments to the followers of a different credo. As yet the Thirty-nine Articles have been the chief obstacle to a rapprochement between Anglicanism and Orthodoxy and the main cause of the lamentable failure of all the attempts to establish intercommunion between them. We can add that the practical abandonment of the articles as a standard of faith by the American Episcopal Church explains to some extent the growing sympathies of Russian divines for her.

Vladimir Kerensky, a learned theologian of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Kazan, points out that American Episcopalians, freed from the yoke of the Anglican confession of faith, deserve a greater confidence from the Orthodox Church and gain credit with her as to the proposals of union. He declares, however, that the negative attitude of the American Episcopal Church is not a reason strong enough to remove the difficulties with which the problem of reunion is bristling. The doctrinal standards of American Anglicanism ought to be clearly defined. The competent authority is bound to get out of the ambiguousness of style and to affirm by a decisive statement that the Thirty-nine Articles are void of any symbolical value in the Protestant Episcopal Church. It is also desirable that the same Church, following in the steps of the Eastern Churches, sets the task of laying down a revised confession of faith.[30]

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[28] Edmund Tyrrel Green: "The Thirty-nine Articles and the Age of the Reformation," London, 1896; p. 17. In the "Times" of October 1, 1913, Dr. Charles Gore, the Bishop of Oxford, and the most influential theologian in the English Church, declared that the laity of the English Church are never called on to approve or to assent to the Thirty-nine Articles, and that their subscription by the clergy no longer binds them to more than a general assent: "Since 1865 what the clergy have done is to give a general assent to three formularies—that is, the Articles, the Prayer Book and the Ordinal—and to declare the doctrine therein contained to be agreeable to the Word of God. This is a very general form of assent to the doctrine contained in the three formularies. It is quite obvious that no one would describe this as signing the Articles, and that this is an antiquated phrase which has survived much too long." "Eirene," the yearly magazine of the Anglican and Eastern-Orthodox Churches Union; London, 1914; pp. 6-7.

[29] Op. cit., pp. 22-23.

It is hard to foretell whether the demands of the Russian theologian will be practically answered by the Anglican Church. Be that as it may, we are finally convinced that the Eastern Churches will never yield to the Anglican Churches on the question of intercommunion as long as these have any hold upon their articles of religion.

Besides the symbolical motive for the denial of intercommunion, Patriarch Gregory VI. brings into relief the dogmatic divergences between Anglicanism and Orthodoxy. The Eastern Church cannot agree to a religious alliance with a Western Church which subscribes to the doctrine expressed by the *Filioque*. The language of the Patriarch is of a remarkable clearness and precision and cuts out every subterfuge. The Eastern Churches do not tolerate any shifting interpretation of the *Filioque* or any statement concerning "the eternal existence (?) of the Holy Spirit." These words of the patriarchal letter refer to the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

A great friend of the Anglican Church and a warm promoter of intercommunion between Anglicans and Orthodox, Alexander Lycurgus, Archbishop of Syra and Tenos, in a report to the Holy Synod of the Hellenic Kingdom (1870), frankly admits that the *Filioque* presents a serious and confessedly formidable difficulty to the establishment of the religious fellowship of the two Churches.[31]

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[30] "Amerikanskaia episkopalnaia" tzerkov: eia proiskhozhdenie, i sostoianie preimushchestvenno v vieroispoviednom otnoshenii. (The American Episcopal Church: Her origin and state, especially from the point of view of her Confession of Faith.") Kazan, 1905; pp. 432-433.

[31] The same pessimism is also expressed by Anglican divines: "The revelation of the mind of the late general convention upon the subject of intercommunion with the Eastern Church must have inflicted severe disappointment upon the friends and promoters of this movement; and we believe we do not venture too much in thinking that sufficient ground was furnished for the fear that the disappointment is destined to be an enduring one. Instead of indications of dissolving prejudice, growing earnestness and ripening dispositions upon the subject, there were plainly to be discerned variously unfavorable moods of aversion, indifference, distrust and reserve, as its friends sought to engage for it the sympathies

"The English theologians, on the one hand, acknowledge that this addition is unfortunate and that some unknown hand has put it into the Creed; but still they very much hesitate to expunge it, fearing lest by so doing the conscience of men may be troubled and may then begin to doubt respecting other dogmas of the Church. They accept, indeed, the Monarchia in the Trinity and that the Holy Ghost proceeds eternally from the Father alone; but say that He proceeds also from the Son, meaning in the progress of time at His mission; they ask whether, if the Anglican Church gave such an explanation, it would not be considered satisfactory? It was not, certainly, for me to anticipate the answer of the Church to this question."[32]

We are, in truth, asserting that the answer of the Eastern Churches will be a negative one. Since 1870 the *Filioque* has been the stumbling block of intercommunion between the two Churches. Anglican divines go astray by supposing that Eastern theologians object only to the insertion of the *Filioque* into the liturgical Creed. While finding the Papacy guilty of the adulteration of the Catholic faith by the affirmation of the dogmatic character of the *Filioque,* the Eastern Churches long since proclaimed as a true dogma the temporal procession and mission of the Holy Spirit from the Son. The legitimacy of the addition in the Creed of the *Filioque* is considered of a far less importance than the doctrine which is involved. Although no Oecumenical Councils have settled the problem of the *Filioque,* the Eastern Churches are accustomed to raise the teaching of their divines to the dignity of a dogma of the "Universal Catholic Church." To foster, then, their good relations with Eastern Christianity, the Anglican Churches should abandon the common doctrine and belief of Western theology as to the eternal relation of the Holy Spirit to the Son. The question now is whether the Anglican Churches will carry her "comprehensive spirit" as far as to comply with such requests.

No doubt an ever-growing party of Anglican divines would not make a stand against the withdrawal of the *Filioque* from the Creed. The most authoritative of them, the Right Rev. Charles Chapman Grafton, Bishop of Fond du Lac (1889-1912), writes: "If the two Churches are to enter into recognized fellowship, the old barrier

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of the convention. The one fact, however, upon which we chiefly rely to justify these observations is the invincible repugnance that met every disposition, or the appearance of a disposition, to reform our version of the Nicene Creed in the Oriental sense.—The late general convention, the Filioque and intercommunion, the "American Quarterly Church Review," XXI., 1869; p. 236; the Procession of the Holy Ghost, ibid.; pp. 244-252.

[32] Journal of the Convention (1871); p. 585.

about the *Filioque* must in some way be removed." The words "from the Son" in the Nicene Creed were inserted in the West by the Roman Church after the Oecumenical Council of Ephesus had declared that no further addition should be made to it. As a part of the Western Church we inherited this interpolated and uncanonical addition from Rome. It is certainly a great satisfaction that between ourselves and the Eastern Orthodox Church there is no difference in the doctrine involved.[33] The term *Filioque* is patent of an orthodox meaning. But the question with the East is not whether it is true, but what right has it to be made a dogma and inserted in the Creed without the consent of the Church Catholic. There are a good many other doctrines which may be true, but have no place in the symbol of faith. This article was put in by no Oecumenical Council, and stands there on the authority of the West alone and of the Pope. The East's whole position and existence is involved in this controversy. If the Pope has a right to sanction one article of faith in the Creed, then he has others. If we admit, they say, the *Filioque,* then logically we should admit the Papal infallibility and the Immaculate Conception. It all hangs together. It is impossible, therefore, for the East, after their 900 years of protest, to accept it.[34] How, then, we must ask ourselves, can they enter into communion with us if we retain it? There is no Oecumenical authority for it. It is the one remaining shackle that marks our former Roman servitude. May God in His great mercy so enlighten His Church that this cause of division may be removed."[35]

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[33] It is to be observed that even for some learned Catholic theologians the divergence between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Churches is rather verbal than substantial. It is rooted in the terminology of the Greek Fathers, which, in the theology of the Trinity, differs considerably from that of the Latin Fathers. A little more good will on either side and the long-spun-out question of the Filioque would meet a satisfactory solution. The best essay on conciliation between Eastern and Western theology as the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son has been written by the learned Bollandist, Victor de Buck, S. J. (1817-1876): Essai de conciliation sur le dogme de la Procession du Saint; Esprit, Paris, 1857. The terminological divergences between Eastern and Western Trinitarian theology are explained in a masterly manner in the admirable work of Théodore de Régnon, S. J. (1831-1893). Etudes de théologie positive sur la Sainte Trinitè; Paris, 1891-1892.

[34] For the same reason it is impossible for the West, after their 900 years of unquestioned teaching of the Filioque, to accept the Anti-Filioque, or the Procession, a solo Patre of the Eastern Churches. It is true that the Eastern Churches have not inserted the Anti-Filioque in the Creed, but their theologians have made a dogma of it, both in their formularies of faith and in their private writings.

[35] The Reunion of Oriental and Anglican Churches, Milwaukee, Wis., 1904, pp. 35-36; the American Catholic Church, in the "American Quarterly Church Review," XX., 1869, p. 597.

As is quite plain from the just quoted passage Bishop Grafton belongs to the school of those Anglican divines, who, for the sake of intercommunion, would not hesitate to blot from the Nicene Creed what they consider an utterly unjustifiable Papal aggression.[36] His views, however, fail to have the majority of the suffrages of Anglican divines; above all, of those of the American Episcopal Church.[37]

"Our situation is this," writes a well-known theologian of that Church, Dr. Francis J. Hall: "An addition which was made irregularly in the first instance has come through centuries of use to be bound up with the maintenance of the true Godhead of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Its rejection now, unless some adequate substitute were agreed upon, would strengthen very much the Unitarian heresy existing in England and America, which treats Christ as a mere creature. Obviously the maintenance of the faith is a primary obligation not to be waived even for the sake of canonical regularity. It is to be admitted that the short and blunt *Filioque,* which neglects to specify the difference in the manner of the procession from the Father and the Son, might be improved upon. When the glad day of a new Oecumenical Council arrives, no doubt some ampler phrase can be agreed upon which will satisfy both East and West. Meantime we retain our phrase for a reason which Easterners should respect—that is, lest the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father and the perichoresis should seem to be obscured, while in nowise forgetting the sole principatus of the Father."[38]

The only way to ward off the thorny question would be the acknowledgment by the Eastern Church of the *Filioque* as a free opinion of the theological system of Western Christianity. The compromise has been suggested by Basil Bolotov (1853-1900), the giant of the Orthodox theology, in his famous *Theses über das*

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[36] Owerbeck: "The Filioque and the American Church," "The Orthodox Catholic Review" (London, 1867), t. I., pp. 246-252; Nealy, "A History of the Holy Eastern Church," t. II. (London, 1850), p. 1168; Howard, "The Schism Between the Oriental and the Western Churches" (London, 1892), p. 88; Ibid., "An English view of the Filioque question as bearing upon the reunion movement," Revue Internationale de théologie, t. V., 1897, p. 67. We have refuted them in our "Theologia dogmatica orthodoxa," t. I., pp. 346-352, and in our treatise: "Legitimité de l'insertion du Filioque au Symbole, Dictionnaire de théologie catholique," Vol. V.; Paris, 1913; coll. 2309-2343.

[37] Kerensky, Op. cit., pp. 70-75.

[38] "This Church and the East: An Explanation," "The Living Church," September 14, 1901.

[39] "Revue Internationale de Theologie," 1898; pp. 681-712; A. Palmieri, O. S. A., "Nomenclator litterarius theologiae orthodoxae russicae," t. I.; Pragae, 1910; pp. 237-241.

Filioque.[39] But Bolotov was a layman, and his solution of the controversy of the *Filioque* had a flavor of novelty to the palates of the orthodox prelates, who cling firmly to the dogmatic character of the *Anti-Filioque.*[40]

Hence it follows that as concerns the problem of intercommunion the position of the Eastern Churches towards Anglicanism is quite identical with that towards the Roman Catholic Church. The Eastern Churches cannot receive the members of the Anglican Churches to participation in their sacraments, unless these deny the truth of the *Filioque*, professedly admitted by Roman Catholics, Old Catholics, Protestants and Anglicans, and in turn subscribe to the orthodox truth of the *Anti-Filioque*.

A strenuous defender of the Bolotov's theory and of intercommunion between the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches, General Alexandre Kireev (1833-1910) rightly observed, regarding the *Filioque*, that this dogma being the very essence of revealed truth, it could neither be modified nor accepted with reservation. It is absolute truth, and as such admits of no variations. Unity of doctrine is a *conditio sine qua non* of the unity of the Church, and consequently also of *intercommunion in sacris*. Wherever there is contradictory dogmatic teaching, there must also be separate Churches which cannot be united. Churches may be altogether self-governed, may have different rites, different liturgies, independent hierarchies and yet form but one Catholic Church, providing that as to dogma they are the same. Dogma must be the same in every Church. Whatever latitude may be granted to freedom of thought, it must never be permitted to transgress these limits; to do so would not be charity towards each other, but unfaithfulness to one's Church—yea, to the eternal truth which she represents.[41]

Finally, the Patriarch of Constantinople could not conceal his bitter disappointment at the suspicions of error thrown by Anglican divines on the teaching of the Orthodox Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch. Soundness and perfection of faith are the exclusive monopoly of Eastern Christianity. To suppose, therefore, that the Patriarchates of the East may have deviated from the apostolic and God-delivered faith by uttering "vain babblings and new dogmas is a depreciation of Eastern Christianity, an abasement of the Eastern Churches to the level of the Roman.

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[40] A. Palmieri, O. S. A., "L'argomento ontologico del Filioque e le obbiezioni di un teologo russo;" Roma, 1902.

[41] Sochineniia (Works), Vol. I. (Petrograd, 1912), pp. 78-79; 86-87; A. Palmieri, O. S. A., "Le teorie del generale Alessandro Kireev sull' unione delle Chiese" (Bessarione, 1912), III., 9, pp. 200-207; 287-293. According to Kireev, intercommunion between the Eastern and the Anglican Churches will be a golden dream as long as the problem of the validity of Anglican Orders has not reached a satisfactory solution.

The theologians of the Eastern Church Association were not at a loss to answer the Patriarchal laments and querimonious protests. They had even recourse to arguments which always meet with the warmest approbation of Greek polemists. The XIX. Article of Religion contained no allusion to the patriarchal See of Constantinople, and at the same time it purposed only to crush the pretenses of the Church of Rome to inerrancy. The XIX. Article, we read in the report of 1870, contains a controversial argument against the claim to inerrancy and infallibility made by the Pope and the See of Rome as being founded by St. Peter. The See of Antioch was also founded by St. Peter, yet that fact conferred no privilege of inerrancy or infallibility upon its Bishop, for Peter the Fuller and others who filled the See of Antioch fell into grievous error. In the same way the See of Alexandria was founded by St. Mark, the disciple of St. Peter, yet the Bishops or Popes of that see were not thereby secured from error, as is shown in the case of Dioscorus. Nor had even the See of Jerusalem, first filled by "the Lord's Brother," the privilege of inerrancy, for Sallustius, Bishop of the see, signed the Henoticon. In the same way it appears to us to be the intention of the article to argue that the See of Rome, although founded by St. Peter, has not on that account any supernatural privilege of inerrancy or infallibility, nor can its Bishops claim such either in faith or ceremonial,[42] for Nonorius erred grievously respecting the two wills in Christ, and Eugenius IV. declared, *ex cathedra,* that the character of the priesthood was conferred by the delivery of the instruments—a doctrine repugnant to the tradition of the Eastern Church and of our own alike.[43] In confirmation of this view, we think it important to notice the significant fact that the Church of Constantinople, the chief of the Eastern Patriarchates, is omitted in this article. And, as the censure was evidently designed against the assumptions of the Roman Patriarchate, we cannot but hope that the Oecumenical Patriarch would believe that it was by design that our English Reformers, at a time when all intercourse with the East had been so long interrupted, abstained from passing any censure of his own Patriarchal See.[44]

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[42] The difficulty lies in the fact that from the earliest age of the Christian Church, practically and theoretically, the Bishops of Rome claimed the prerogative of inerrancy, and as it is thoroughly demonstrated by Alexis Lebedev, a famous Russian historian of the Church, he was the only Bishop of the East and the West to vindicate to himself the right of solving, in the last resort, the controversies of faith. "Istoricheskoe razvitie ierarkhicheskago rimskago primatsva" ("The historical development of the Roman hierarchical primacy") in "Dukhovienstvo drevnei vselenskoi tzerkvi" ("The Clergy of the Ancient Catholic Church"), Moscow, 1905; pp. 228-244.

[43] We do not tarry to answer objections which are exploded in every handbook of Catholic theology. We ought only to point out that according to the views of the most authoritative Catholic theologians the "Decretum pro Armenis" does not aim at an infallible solution in the field of sacramental theology. This is the opinion even of Cardinal von Rossum: "Constat Eugenium IV. in decreto pro Armenis nihil definire intendisse, aut aliquid statuere voluisse infallibili auctoritate circa essentiam sacramenti ordinis; verum solummodo auctoritate sua ordinaria doctrinam tradidisse, quam illa aetate communius doctores profitebantur.—De essentia Sacramenti Ordinis; disquisitio historico-theologica;" (Friburgi, 1914); pp. 196-197. See also William Stevens Perry, "The Reunion Conference at Bonn" (1875). A personal narrative (privately printed); 1876; p. 13.

In their answer to Gregory VI., Anglican divines had the happy opportunity of corroborating their arguments with the authority of an authoritative Greek theologian, Nicholas Damalas (1842-1892). As it is customary in the Greek Church, lay theologians who lightly sport with polemical theology lavish so many contumelies and gibes on their adversaries as to deserve the epithet of "shameful" controversialists by Alexis Lebedev.[45]

According to the Greek theologian, the assertion of the XIX. Article is most true. "As individuals in many things offend all, so also every particular Church may err and often has erred and been deceived, and, above all, the Roman, which from the addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed, has gone on to the voiding of ancient apostolical doctrines and traditions and to the fabrication of other new ones, arbitrary and contrarient both to the Scriptures and to the Catholic Church, such as the foolish and most unevangelical dogma[46] of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, the prohibition of the sacred chalice to the laity and many other like fantasies, which at her Synagogue (!) of Trent she dared to impose on pain of anathema. Not only did she most gravely err at that epoch, but also in the times of the ancient Catholic Church—witness the Popes whom the holy Fifth and Sixth Synods anathematized as Monothelites, etc.[47] And not only the particular Church of Rome, but also every other, may err and has erred—witness Nestorius of Constantinople condemned by the Holy Third Oecumenical Synod and other such. In fine, the Spirit who leads the Church into all truth is not to be sought in any particular Church, all the rest being excluded, but is ever in the one Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, in which—and not in the Alexandrian or Roman—we have been baptized and do believe. On this point, therefore, the Anglican Church speaks well and evangelically.[48]

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[44] In our opinion, the omission in question is wholly unjustified. The See of Constantinople has been less secured from error than the other patriarchal sees of the East. Monsignor Duchesnes counts nineteen heretical Patriarchs who spread their errors in Byzantium before the consummation of the schism by Michel Cerularius, viz., Eusebius, Macedonius, Eudoxius, Demophilus, Nestorius, Acacius, Timotheus, Anthimus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, John V., Anastasius, Constantinus, Nicetas, Theodotus, Antonius, John VII. ("Eglises separées"); Paris, 1896; p. 73.

[45] "Istoriia Greko-vostochnoi tzerkvi pod vlastiu Turok" ("History of the Greco-Oriental Church Under the Yoke of the Turks"); Petrograd, 1903; p. 568.

[46] For the sake of truth, we note here that this "foolish and most unevangelical dogma" is deeply rooted in the Greek liturgy and in the teaching of Greek Fathers, and it was asserted even by Photius. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the orthodox theological school of Kiev, and one of the most famous saints of the modern Russian Church, Dmitri of Rostov, strenuously defended the dogmatic character of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Jugie, "Photius et l'Immaculée Conception, Echos d'Orient, XIII;" 1910; pp. 198-201; Id., "De conceptione immaculata B. Mariae Virginis apud Russos, saeculo XVII., Acta academiae Velehradensis, VII.; 1911; pp. 3-15; Palmieri, O. S. A., "L'immacolata Concezione e l'Accademia di Kiev;" Bessarione, 1909; pp. 1-5.

The style of the Patriarch becomes, however, milder after a long sojourn of Lycurgus, Archbishop of Syra, in London. The Greek prelate had frequent intercourse with Anglican Bishops, assisted at Anglican services, especially at consecrations of Bishops, at the administration of the Holy Communion, at morning and evening offices, etc. The acts of friendship shown to him and the conspicuous honors received made a deep impression upon him and gave rise in his heart to strong feelings of sympathy towards the Anglican Church. These feelings were expressed in a very interesting report to the Holy Synod of Greece. I cannot resist quoting here a long passage of it. It has the flavor of a document for the present time, in view of the recent attempts by the so-called World Conference to realize on a new basis the reunion of Churches.

"The Anglican Church," says the Greek Bishop, "though generally enumerated with the Protestant Christian communities, differs, however, from them for the following principal reasons: Other Protestants, having shaken off the tyrannical rule of the Roman Pontiff (?), imagined that they were able to abolish at the same time the hierarchical system established in the Church from its commencement and to proclaim an universal priesthood. Into this great error the Anglican Church fortunately did not fall. She, after having rejected the Pope, not only maintained the system of Episcopacy, but also the various traditions and customs of the ancient Catholic Church. In this manner this Church attached her bark by a strong cable to the ship of the Catholic Church, whilst the other Protestants, having cut this cable, drifted out to sea and wandered away. Whilst on the one hand the other Protestants, beginning with the principle of free inquiry, ended by centring everything in the mere letter of the Bible in the Anglican Church, on the other hand, there was gradually developed a feeling of reverence for religious ordinances, the depth and warmth of which are felt not only in the Church, but also in public as well as in social and in family life. I do not believe that the union of the two Churches can be the work of the present day. Besides, this union must not be made mechanically, but truly, and on full and complete persuasion. It is therefore necessary, before such an union can be effected, that there should exist a similarity of opinions which can only be expected to take place after a mutual and careful investigation and inquiry—a matter which will require no little time.[49] For the present, in order to prepare for this work of union, a friendly approximation of the two Churches is both possible and desirable. It is a great and most distressing misfortune for all Christendom that the former one and undivided Catholic Church has been split dogmatically, first into numerous other sections. It is, moreover, a still greater, a more grievous misfortune, that these various Christian communities have become hostile, mutually opposing and clashing with each other. Must, therefore, the Christtian world entirely and forever despair that their mutual animosities will not some day cease? If it is not possible at the present time that all should be of one mind, is it not possible for these various Christian bodies to offer to each other the right hand of fellowship, leaving it to God alone to decide wherein they are not like minded, according to the holy apostles? I think that this most desirable Christian work, so abounding in true charity, can only be practically brought about between the two Churches in question—that is to say, the Orthodox Eastern and the Anglican. For on the one hand, the Roman Church has always adhered to that old and intemperate anti-Christian claim of unrestrained rule over the Churches as lord over God's heritage—a pretension which has forced her to promulgate the impious (!) dogma of the infallibility of the Pope. Protestants, on the other hand, regarding Christendom not as a Church, the head of which is Christ and the members all true believers in Him, and therefore subject to the canonical successors of the apostles, but looking upon it as a principle or idea, are not only indifferent to any union, without which the foundation and preservation of every Church is impossible, but are generally opposed to every attempt at the same. The fellowship of the two Churches will not only conduce to their preservation, but will establish for the rest of Christendom a common standard of fellowship and, God willing, of union. This approximation consists in the recognition by each Church of the other as a Christian community, having the same Lord and the same hope of salvation, and in the exhibition, from time to time, of proofs of mutual love by intercommunication between the Bishops of both Churches and by the grant of certain simple privileges to the members. As, for instance, His Holiness the Patriarch has given direction that Christians of the Anglican faith should be buried by our priests in the absence of an Anglican priest, so may other similar priveleges hereafter be given. Thus means might be found to grant permission that English children should be baptized by the priests of the Eastern Church where there are no Anglican clergy, etc. This approximation will only tend to facilitate the work of a true and complete union. Perhaps at the outset this great and pious work may appear to some difficult, if not impossible, owing to the differences which exist between the two Churches; but the more the scheme is ventilated, the more the hope is increased that these differences will be smoothed away."

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[47] The assertion is wholly without truth. The Sixth Ecumenical Council condemned Honorius, "qui," according to a letter of Leo II., "flammam haerectici dogmatis non ut decuit apostolicam auctoritatem, incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovit." See on this subject the discussion, well supported by documents, of Monsignor Hefele, "Histoire des Conciles," ed. Leclerq, t. III., 1; Paris, 1909; pp. 515-538.

[48] On the relation of the Anglican Church to the Orthodox, "The Orthodox Review," 1868, pp. 177-185; 1871, 32-43; Id., "Peri tis skeseos tis anglikis Ekklisias pros tin orthodoxon;" London, 1867; pp. 19-20.

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[49] The views of this report look strangely like the views set forth in the report of the Joint Commission to the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church (1913) with regard to the World Conference for the consideration of questions touching faith and order. It suffices to quote the following passage: "That the thinkers and investigators of all Christian bodies are learning more and more to compare notes with each other, and that a scholarly and capable presentation of Christian truth, from whatever quarter, is apt to secure world-wide consideration can hardly be denied. A new Christian cosmopolitanism has arisen, accompanied, no doubt, by the exploiting of many destructive vagaries, but certainly affording conditions which must facilitate the victory of truth and the bringing about in God's time of substantial agreement concerning Christian faith and order. Our part seems to be not to force things and not to formulate schemes for reunion, but to help on this growth of mutual friendliness and of mutual understanding." (P. 23.) See especially the pamphlet entitled "The Object and Method of the World Conference;" (Gardiner, Maine, U. S. A., 1915.)

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[50] A feeling of pessimism as to the successful establishment of intercommunion between the two churches pierces already in a highly interesting paper published about this time by an Episcopalian theologian. Let us quote of it the following passage: "So far as our external relations are concerned, it would seem that nothing remains for us but to persevere in a spirit of prayer for unity, to foster a noble charity, to cultivate every offered opportunity and patiently await the time of heaven in faithful devotion to our sphere of duty, but never to depart from the firmness of our convictions, the strength of our position, and that dignity of conservatism which will make no improper advance and repel no honest overture. The Church has always sought to avoid the ice of the bigot and the fire of the fanatic. Hers is the noble middle path both in doctrine, in practice and in polity. "The American Quarterly Church Review," XX., 1869; p. 602.

The report of the Greek prelate won, it may be granted, some sympathies for the Anglican Church, but it had no effective result upon the main purpose of the Eastern Church Association.[50] Patriarch Gregory VI. wrote a second letter to the Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury, calling down the blessings of God upon Christ-loving, glorious and heroic Albion, which, with such eagerness and in an unfettered spirit of freedom, marvelously recurs to customs handed down from old time and genuinely apostolic.[51] The Holy Synod of the Hellenic Church recalled the benefits previously conferred on the Greeks by the Christian and magnanimous nation of the Britons. In a letter dated from the 11th of June, 1870, Theophilus, Metropolitan of Athens, using the classical reminiscences of the flowery style of Greek divines, wrote as follows: "Their (of Britons) sympathy with us in our long struggles for freedom and in our multiform and exhausting miseries; their noble advocacy of our cause in both Houses of Parliament; their ready aid and protection in our greatest dangers—these things have not escaped our memory, nor ever shall they, so long as the wave shall wash that beach at Pylos, where not long ago the great and most Christian work of the liberation of the Greek nation was accomplished by means of Great Britain." Following the example of the Oecumenical Patriarch, the Holy Synod of Greece declared that with regard to Anglican dead, when an "Orthodox" priest of the Anglican Church will not be present, the Orthodox priests of the Church of Greece will count them worthy of their befitting care and of the prayers of the Orthodox Church in behalf of their souls.[52]

In the same style, Cyril, the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, wrote to Archbishop Archibald Campbell Tait, expressing his hearty thanks to the whole of Christ-loving and powerful Albion, greeting the dawn of the most sweet morn of the fraternization of the two Churches and praying God that it might be increased to a brilliant sun, running through the world from pole to pole.[53]

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[51] Journal of the Convention (1871); p. 573.

[52] Ibid., p. 574.

[53] Ibid., p. 575.

[54] Among the studies devoted to the subject in question by Orthodox theologians during 1865-1871 we mention the following: Vasiliev I., "Réflexions à propos du désir manifesté par l'Eglise Anglicane d'entrer en communion avec l'Eglise Catholique Orientale, Union Chrétienne" (Paris, 1863), pp. 225-27; 233-35; 242-43; "k voprosu o soedinenii tzerkvei" ("The Question of the Union of the Churches"), "Dukhovnaia Besieda" (1866), I., pp. 153-165; "Ob apostolshkom preemstvie v angliiskoi tzerkvi" ("The Apostolic Succession in the English Church"); Ibid., 1865, I., 265-72; 321-28; 408-16; "Zamiechaniia o soedinenii protestantskikh episkopalnykh tzerkvei s pravoslavnoiu katholicheskoiu tzerkoviiu" ("Remarks on the Union of the Protestant Episcopal Churches with the Orthodox Catholic Churches"), Ibid., 1866; I., pp. 460-70; 473-79; Popov E., "K voprosu o

Unfortunately the tangible results of these poetical missives were very doubtful. Of them, and of the failure which that first attempt

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soedinenii tzerkvei" ("The Problem of Union of the Churches"); Ibid., 1866; II., pp. 297-304; Kratkii obzor popytok k soedineniu tzerkvi episkopalnoi angliiskoi i amerikanskoi s pravoslavnoiu vostochnoiu v posliedniia 5 liet" ("A Short Survey of the Attempt at the Union of the Episcopal Church, both English and American, with the Eastern Orthodox Church During the Last Five Years"); "Voronezhskiia eparkhialnyia Viedomosti," 1866, nn. 4-7; "Po voprosu o soedinenii anglikanskoi episkopalnoi tzerkvi s pravoslavnoiu" ("The Problem of the Union of the Anglican Episcopal Church with the Orthodox"), Nedielia, 1866, nn. 10-11; "Dvizhenie v Anglii po voprosu o tzerkovnoi obriadnosti" ("The Anglican Movement and the Question of Ecclesiastical Ritualism"), "Literaturnaia biblioteka," 1867, 6, pp. 284-308; "The Church Review po povodu predlogaemago soedineniia tzerkvi anglikanskoi s pravoslavnoiu vostochnoiu i perevoda angliiskoi liturgi' na russkii iazyk" ("The Church Review and the Proposals of Union of the Anglican Church with the Orthodox and the Translation of the Angilcan Liturgy Into Russian"), Khristianskoe Chtenie, 1867, II., pp. 453-59; Ivan Terentievich Osinin, "K voprosu o sblizhenii pravoslavnoi tzerkvi s anglikanskoiu" ("The Problem of the Rapprochement Between the Orthodox and the Anglican Churches"), Moskovskiia Viedomosti, 1867, n. 188; "Posliednii miting v Anglii obshchestva dlia sblizheniia s vostochnoiu tzerkoviu" ("The Last Meeting in England of the Society for the Rapprochement of the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches"), Sovremennaia Lietopis, 1867, n. 30; "Sochustvie Amerikantzev religioznym interesam Rossii" ("The Interest Taken by Americans in the Religious Needs of Russia"), Sovremennii Listok, 1866, n. 67; Malychevsky Ivan, Otkuda proiskhodiat sochustvennie otzyvy protestantov o vostochnoi, i osobenno russkoi tzerkvi" ("What Is the Source of the Kind and Friendly Declarations of Protestants About the Eastern Churches and Particularly About the Russian Church?") Trudy of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Kiev, 1867, t. IV., pp. 293-332; Osinin, "Novii pravoslavnii zhurnal v Anglii" ("A New Orthodox Magazine in England"), Khristianskoe Chtenie, 1867, II., pp. 280-295. Concerns the "Orthodox Catholic Review," edited in London in 1867 by J. Overbeck (d. 1905), an ex-Catholic priest, who followed in the footsteps of Guettée; Bielorusov N., "Zamietka po istorii tzerkvi v Anglii" ("A Short Notice of English Ecclesiastical History"), Petrograd, I., 1868; II., 1869; Fortunatov B., K voprosu o sblizhenii anglikanskoi tzerkvi s pravoslavnoiu" ("The Rapprochement Between the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches"), Dukhovnaia besieda, 1868, II., pp. 49-51; 65-75; 113-25; O. Kositzyn, "Novaia popytka iz sredi anglikanskoi tzerkvi k soedineniu s pravoslavnoiu vostochnoiu" ("A New Attempt by the Anglican Church to Unite Herself With the Orthodox-Oriental Church"), Moskovskyia Viedomosti, 1868, n. 275; Sukhotin, N., "Iz sovremennago byta anglikanskoi tzerkvi" ("The Contemporary Life of the Anglican Church"), "Strannik," 1871, II., pp. 71-93; III., 285-303; "K voprosu o vzaimnoobchshenii anglikanskoi tzerkvi s pravoslavnymi vostochnymi tzerkvami" ("The Question of Intercommunion Between the Anglican and the Eastern Orthodox Churches"), Moskovskiia eparkhialniia Viedomosti, 1870, nn. 20, 22, 24, 26, 39, 46; "Zaiavenie stroiteliia pravoslavnago khrama v Anglii" ("A Declaration of the Founder of an Orthodox Church in England"), "Pravoslavnoe Obozrienie," 1870, II., 46-47. See also John Charles Earle, "The Russo-Greek Church," "The American Catholic Quarterly Review," 1886, XII., pp. 505-526; Stanislas Tyszkiewicz, "Un episode du movement d'Oxford, La mission de William Palmer"; "Etudes des Pères of fraternization of the two Churches met with, we shall discuss in a following paper.[54]

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de la Compagnie de Jésus," 1913, CXXXVI., pp. 190-210; 329-347; Guettée, "Sur les divergences qui existent entre l'Eglise d'Orient et celle d'Angleterre, Union Chrétienne," Vol. V., 1865, pp. 29-32; 44-46; 51-54; "Orthodoxy, Anglicanism and Romanism," "The Orthodox Catholic Review," 1868, Vol. II., pp. 1-58; Nicholas Amvrazis, "Essay on the Union of Anglican Episcopal Churches with the Orthodox Church" (in Greek), Athens, 1891; "Revue internationale de théologie," I., 1893, pp. 505-506; N. Chistiakov, "K voprosu ob edinenii anglikanskoi tzerkvi s pravoslavnoiu" ("The Question of Union Between the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches"), Duchepoleznoe Chtenie, Moscow, 1898; I., pp. 387-88; 554-67; 753-57; II., 175-78; 341-50; III., 171-72; 611-17; 1899, I., 214-19; 610-13; 1900, III., 655-59.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, THE HIGH PRIEST OF NATURE.

IT IS just twelve years since I made a tour of the lakelands in Westmoreland and Cumberland, England, glorified by the genius of a Southey, a Coleridge and a Wordsworth. Goethe says that if you would truly understand a poet, you must sojourn for some time in the land of the poet. This is certainly true of William Wordsworth, High Priest of Nature, whose poetic genius flowered and ripened within the dales and dells and amid the beauteous lakes walled in by the Hellvellyn's rugged and ridged peaks.

William Wordsworth is the culmination of the school of nature and romance in English poetry. His place in English poetry is sure, but not fixed. The judgment of the world has given Homer and Virgil and Dante and Shakespeare and Goethe their assured places—their thrones in the Valhalla of inspired song, but critics differ as to the place which should be assigned to the author of the "Ode to Immortality." So great a critic as Matthew Arnold ranks Wordsworth after Dante, Shakespeare, Moliere, Milton and Goethe in the modern world. Yet there are other critics who assign our author a place below Spenser, Milton, Shelley and Tennyson. After all, poetry is largely a matter of temperament and taste. It is enough for us here to know and recognize that William Wordsworth is one of a great English poetic hierarchy, who in succession have taken up the sceptre of English poetry from Chaucer to Tennyson.

Wordworth's poetic gospel was the gospel of simplicity and truth. In him there was a union of the Anglican vicar and the Tory monarchist. He lived in an age when the heart of man was being led back in pilgrimage to the shrine of nature, whose altar lamp had burned unheeded during the reign of the correct school of poets.

Naturalism at this time in England became so powerful that, as a writer tells us, it permeated Coleridge's romantic supernaturalism, Shelley's atheistic spiritualism and Byron's revolutionary liberalism.

Brandes, the well-known Danish critic, in his "Main Currents of Nineteenth Century Literature," says: "The English, being at once the most persevering and the most enterprising people, the nation most attached to home and fondest of travel, the slowest to make changes and yet in matters political the most broad-minded, the thinking men of the country naturally fall into two great political groups—the one representing the jealously conservative, the other the daringly liberal tendency."

Moreover, he was of the conservative tendency school, and Shelley and Byron of the daringly liberal school. Indeed, the authors of "Prometheus Unbound" and "Don Juan" might be rather regarded as radicals.

But he who would truly assess Wordsworth as a poet, must forget for the moment his political predilections and take true value of him only as a poet of nature.

The keynote to the gospel of his poetic mission and message is found in this sonnet:

> "The world is too much with us; late and soon,
> Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers:
> Little we see in nature that is ours;
> We have given our hearts away a sordid boon;
> The sea that bears her bosom to the moon;
> The winds that will be howling at all hours,
> And are up-gathered now like sleeping flowers;
> For this, for everything, we are out of tune;
> It moves us not,—Great God! I'd rather be
> A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn;
> So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
> Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn:
> Have sight of Proteus, rising from the sea;
> Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn!"

Perhaps no other English poet was so influenced by his environment as was William Wordsworth. This is why it is so essential to the student of Wordsworth that he should, in obedience to the suggestion of Goethe, visit the poet's land, the better to gain an understanding of his work.

It was in the second week of June, 1903, that in company with a friend the writer ran up to the Wordsworth Land from Liverpool. June is a glorious month in England. This is the month when Browning wrote from Italy, "O to be in England now!" A few hours by train will carry you from Liverpool, by way of Preston, to Lake Windermere, whose shores are dotted with grand villages and pleasant English homes that recall to your mind Mrs. Hemans' lines, "The happy homes of England—how beautiful they stand!" And, by the way, it was in one of these English chateaux that Mrs. Hemans lived for many years.

On reaching by boat Ambletide, which is at the head of Windermere, a stage or diligence awaits the tourist to take him to Grasmere, where Wordsworth lived for many years and where the poet lies buried.

It was Saturday evening when my friend and I arrived in Grasmere, as the sun was just sinking below the western horizon and gilding the spire of the village Church of St. Oswald. A deep calm reigned everywhere. The little village with its gray slate-covered roofs stretched on and on towards the mountainside, and beyond the cluster of village houses lay the farm, the scene of Wordsworth's beautiful and touching idyll, "Michael," which name, I understand, the farm bears to-day.

The village of Grasmere has a most charming setting—meet abode indeed for a poetic child. There nature whispers to the soul in healing words of music and mystery, devoid of all harshness and filled with the sweetness of peace and prayer. It is also an ideal spot for meditation.

Every Sunday morning before the village folk were astir, and while the birds with liquid notes welcomed the full tide of morn, I rambled through the village in search of Wordsworth's grave. It was easily found, for the little cemetery lies hard by St. Oswald's Church, with the Rothay, a clear and gentle stream, humming a low requiem but a few steps beyond.

I had carried to the grave a little volume of the poet's work, and felt it fitting that I should read a poem standing at his grave, but what poem should it be? Wherever the volume opened, and lo! strange coincidence, it was "A Poet's Epitaph." How much of the philosophy and spirit of Wordworth's poety is there not contained in this one stanza from "A Poet's Epitaph:"

"In common things that 'round us lie,
  Some random truths he can impart;—
The harvest of a quiet eye
  That broods and sleeps in his own heart."

On the grave of William Wordsworth was a bunch of fresh pansies. In the same plot, surrounded by an iron railing, were the graves of Mary Wordsworth, the poet's wife, who died nine years after her husband; Sarah Hutchinson, her sister, who died in 1835, and Dorothy Wordsworth, the poet's sister, who died in 1855.

As you pass from grave to grave in Grasmere Cemetery, you learn that here many names well known to English letters are inscribed on the tombstones—such, for instance, as that of Hartley Coleridge, the gifted but unfortunate son of Samuel T. Coleridge, and Arthur Hugh Clough, poet and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Poor Hartley Coleridge was not an opium eater like his father, but he drank. Wordsworth had many a time befriended him.

Wordsworth came to Dove Cottage in Grasmere in 1799 with his sister Dorothy, and in several of his poems the poet acknowledges the worth and influence of this good woman, especially in the direction and inspiration of his poetic genius. It was in 1803 that

Wordsworth married his schoolmate, Mary Hutchinson, and after living with his young wife and sister Dorothy at Dove Cottage till 1808, he moved to Allan Bank, a residence just back of the village, where he spent two years; thence to the Rectory, near St. Oswald's Church, where he spent two years more, going finally to Ryval Mount in 1814, which is situated some six miles from Grasmere, where he lived till his death in 1850. Much of Wordsworth's best poetic work was done during his nine years' residence at Dove Cottage. The great English essayist, De Quincy, was the next tenant to occupy Dove Cottage after Wordsworth's departure. Here it was that he wrote his "Confessions of an Opium Eater."

I visited this historic cottage, which is now the property of the nation and is cared for much in the same way in which Burns' birthplace in Ayr, Scotland, or Goethe's home in Weimar, Germany, are looked after. I understand that more than 10,000 tourists visit the cottage annually.

Perhaps the most interesting part of Dove Cottage is the guest chamber. It is a tiny room, with a bright outlook to the east. In it have slept John Wordsworth, brother of the poet; Samuel T. Coleridge, the possible great poet, theologian and philosopher; John Wilson, "Christopher North," Sir Walter Scott and the Coleridge children. There were three chairs in this room of great interest, seeing that their cushions were the work, respectively, of Dora Wordsworth, Sara Coleridge and Edith Southey, daughters of the three great poets—Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey.

Behind Dove Cottage is the orchard, or garden, and I was shown there by the cottage attendant—the orchard-seat where the poet used to sit and where he composed the lines on "The Green Linnet," beginning with:

"Beneath these fruit-tree boughs that shed
Their snow-white blooms on my head,
With brighter sunshine round me spread
  Of spring's unclouded weather,
In the sequestered nook how sweet
To sit upon my orchard seat!
And birds and flowers once more to greet,
  My last year's friends together."

To Wordsworth the inner life was everything and the outer of little moment. In all this High Priest of Nature truly led the artist life of the soul, and this is a life of growth by an inward secret and mysterious process. It consists in a response of the soul to the spirit in nature. It is contained in the Scriptural lines or injunction: "Consider the lilies how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin." In the artist life, as George Woodberry has observed, there is neither toiling nor spinning. This is the "wise passiveness" of Wordsworth where the poet reproves the meddling intellect of the world in these lines:

"Think you, 'mid all this myghty sun
  Of things forever speaking,
That nothing of itself will come,
  But we must still be seeking?"

Of course, it has been charged against Wordsworth that he is a pantheist, although if I remember correctly his *ami intime* and poetic confrère, Aubrey de Vere, has acquitted him of this charge. To discuss this subject here, however, would carry me too far afield and would call for a subtle study and survey of the question as to what is and what is not pantheism, and this would intrench upon the purpose of this paper.

Among the English poets few have given us such a body of poetry marked by so great unevenness as Wordsworth. Side by side with such glorious creations as the "Ode to Immortality" and "Michael" and "Lintern Abbey," which are full of

"The light that never was on sea or land,
The consecration and the poets' dream,"

we have inane and bald stuff without a glint or gleam of inspiration in it. But Wordsworth is not alone in this. Some popular poets of our own day have published far too much for their own fair name and the surety of their fame. Inspiration does not hallow the poet's soul at all times, and it certainly forsook this High Priest of Nature occasionally and left him with his soul groping on the earth and his vision not higher than the horizon of the common day.

But there is enough of genuine poetry in Wordsworth to make certain his immortality—nay, to give him an assured place among the great English poets. Unlike to Coleridge, who really possessed higher gifts, Wordsworth, by loyalty to his art, lives on in more than a possible potentiality of English letters. He is on the head roll of English poets who have husbanded their gifts and opportunities. This, unfortunately, Samuel T. Coleridge never did.

When visiting Grasmere I was fortunate in having met an intimate friend of the Wordsworths, Mr. Edward Wilson, who was a native of the village, having been born there in 1822. I spent several hours with this interesting old man and jotted down in a notebook many things about the poet and his family not found in biographies of Wordsworth. As Wordsworth died in 1850, it will be readily seen that Mr. Wilson had every opportunity of knowing the poet well. Mr. Wilson's father was a joiner, in which was comprised in Wordsworth's time that of undertaker, and it was his father's hearst which conveyed Wordsworth's body to the grave.

Amongst other things, Mr. Wilson informed me that as there was no post office in Grasmere in Wordsworth's time, the letters being brought from Kendal, a distance of eighteen miles, by a carrier, Wordsworth often went to meet the carrier at midnight in order to get his letters.

As I was anxious to learn first hand something of Wordsworth's religious attitude of mind, I asked Mr. Wilson if there was anything of the Ritualist or High Churchman in the poet, and he promptly answered, "Oh, my, no! Nothing of that foolery!" This fact, it will be seen, but makes his beautiful sonnet on the Blessed Virgin containing the line "Our tainted nature's solitary boast" the more remarkable.

Remembering, too, Browning's poem, "The Lost Leader," I was anxious to know something of Wordsworth's political somersault from Whig to Tory. Here is a part of Browning's poem and his charge against Wordsworth:

"Just for a handful of silver he left us,
Just for a riband to stick in his coat—
Found the one gift of which fortune bereft us,
Lost all the others she lets us devote;
They with the gold to give doled him out silver,
So much was theirs who so little allowed:
How all our copper has gone for his service!
Rags—were they purple, his heart had been proud!
We that had loved him so, followed him, honored him,
Lived in his mild and magnificent eye,
Learned his great language, caught his clear accents,
Made him our pattern to live and to die!
Shakespeare was of us, Milton was of us,
Burns, Shelley, were with us,—they watch from their graves!
He alone breaks from the van and the freemen,
He alone sinks to the rear and the slave!"

Robert Browning, in a letter to Rev. A. B. Grosart, editor of Wordsworth's Prose Works in 1875, denied that in this poem he desired to use "the venerated personality of Wordsworth for other than a sort of painter's model."

Mr. Wilson, however, declared to me that Wordsworth faced about politically and broke from Lord Brougham's Whig Party, becoming a Tory because the latter threatened to reduce his salary as a distributer of stamps at Carlisle. It is just possible, too, that Mr. Wilson's knowledge of this fact is more accurate and trustworthy than is that of the poet Browning.

Wordsworth lived at Rydal Mount, where he took up his abode in 1814, till his death in 1850. Rydal Mount is situated, as I have already said, some six miles from Grasmere, and for many years till a church was built at Rydal Mount the poet and his family attended service on Sundays at St. Oswald's Church, Grasmere. Mrs. Fisher Wordsworth, a granddaughter of the poet, now lives in the Wordsworth home at Rydal Mount. I saw in St. Oswald's Church on Sunday another granddaughter of the poet. She is the wife of Colonel Mair and daughter of William Wordsworth, son of the poet. She bears a striking facial resemblance to her grandfather.

Lakeland is a haunt for literary pilgrims, every nook and corner of which contains some memory of the great poet of nature, who glorified its hills, its dales and its "meanest flower that blows."

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SOME NOTES ON HENRY VIII.'S PARLIAMENTS.

AFTER a lifetime spent on the Tudor period, I am convinced that we know little or nothing of its Parliamentary history and that the constitutional history of the sixteenth century has not been written. Mr. W. S. Dann, of Manchester Grammar School, has deposited (in manuscript) his researches on the subject in the library of London University. I have had several students working at it for a considerable time, and I have myself kept the question before me as I have worked Tudor manuscripts in connection with other aspects of sixteenth century history. But the amount of spade work that remains to be done is still enormous. Porritt's "Unreformed House of Commons" is most inexpert on the period. Much information can be gleaned for Henry VIII.'s reign from the "Letters and Papers," the "Domestic State Papers," the "History of the Privy Council," the "Lords and Commons Journals." Even this mass of comparatively accessible material would not, when carefully worked, warrant a student in laying down any dogmatic conclusions, when he remembers that the "Domestic Calendar of State Papers" is practically useless even as an index—as I have found to my cost; that practically every diocesan library in England contains unused manuscripts on the subject; that the references in the "Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission" will take him to hundreds of private libraries, and that the Inner Temple Library, London, alone contains hundreds of volumes of unused manuscript material which is full of important and vital details. In the face of all this collection of originals in English libraries—to say nothing of those in foreign collections—the serious historian must walk with careful feet. And this care is all the more necessary when we remember that there has passed into many of our manuals of history an unqualified and unexplained statement that Henry VIII. unblushingly packed his Parliaments. Indeed, Brewer lent himself to the support of this position, and he has been relied on as an authority on the question, oblivious of the fact that not only was he not a scientific historian, but was not even a reliable and accurate worker among originals.

In this short article I have several objects in view. I want, first of all, to challenge the popular conception to which I have just referred, and to draw the attention of students, especially those who are on the threshold of an historical career, to a field of research which I fear I can never fully work myself. Then I want to include here only some sign-posts—if I may so call them—for further work, which will serve as points of departure in elaborating the question in detail. I can do no more than this in an article, but I hope in other articles to give further material which I have gathered. Before beginning, however, there are certain things which must be kept in view if an objective and judicial estimate of the question is to be reached, and it seems to me that these are the very things which many writers in sixteenth century history too often forget. No just judgment can be pronounced unless a contemporary outlook is acquired. For example, it is useless to say that the Reformation Parliament of Henry VIII. was a packed house, and at the same time to forget or to overlook the fact that the evidence for the packing of Mary's Parliament, which repealed the anti-Papal legislation of her father, is far stronger than for any previous Tudor Parliament, if we except that which put Lady Jane Gray on the throne. Indeed, the evidence for the packing of Parliament in a wholesale way is stronger for the eighteenth century than for any other in English history, and the Parliament which passed Catholic Emancipation was as little representative and certainly far more packed in the true sense of the word than any Parliament called by Henry VIII. I am almost at the moment of farewell to the sixteenth century, and I am profoundly convinced that half our difficulties in understanding it have arisen from the fact that we have approached it with modern theories in our mind and from modern points of view. Thus the apostasy of England—for I can call it nothing else if I have read the originals aright—would never have been exercised under the unscholarly term, "Henry VIII. packed his Parliament," had not the century been approached with the Reform Acts of the nineteenth century in view and with the atmosphere of representative government and political and personal freedom still around us. In Henry VIII.'s reign the Constitution was largely in the process of formation. The representative principle was in a very undeveloped stage. The relationship between King and Parliament was not clear cut and defined, and above all we must not forget that the century was not in advance of itself and could no more grasp our mode of political thought than Gregory XIII. could grasp our attitude towards political murder. Once again we must make a clear distinction between degrees of "packing"—in other words, we must fully understand what we mean by the word. If the student means by it that the King had a say—the degree for the moment does not matter—in legislation, in the return of members and procedure, then it is quite true that Henry VIII.'s Parliaments were packed, and it is also true that every English Parliament was packed before his reign. If he means by it that there was wholesale bribery and corruption on the part of the King and his supporters, that there was force brought to bear of the electors throughout the country, that the House of Commons merely consisted of royal supporters gathered together by elections which were more farcical than free, then I believe that the evidence, as far as I have worked it, is against him. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that the evidence in this connection is of little importance. If he means that Henry VIII.'s Parliament was not the institution with which we are nowadays familiar, he is merely uttering an obvious truth, which is as much a platitude as saying that Henry VIII.'s navy was not the navy of George V. The sixteenth century Constitution must be judged from a sixteenth century point of view. Granting, then, that Henry VIII.'s Parliaments were not in advance of their predecessors from the aspect of free institutions, the question arises, Did Henry VIII. so overdo the traditions which he had received for dealing with elections as to make the House of Commons a mere tool for carrying out the royal wishes? I shall put the question another way. Was the House of Commons which banished the Pope from England any more subservient to the royal wishes than the House of Commons which restored him a few years later under Queen Mary? Any more subservient than the one which again banished him in 1559 and consisted largely of the same members which had restored him?

The difficulties of the question have been made all the more complicated by attempts to read history backwards or by the controversial and argumentative writer who has some axe to grind and cannot see that as he sharpens one particular axe he is letting others rust. I can see one and one only solution for the religious aspect of the question—England, generally speaking, did not care in the least about the religious question in the sixteenth century outside a few thousand of Catholics and Puritans who were robbed of their conscientious beliefs or suffered for them. The great mass of the people wanted to develop materially and were perfectly content to let King and Parliament do as they liked, provided peace and prosperity ensued. The evidence is too strong to believe otherwise, and, accepting that position, I want now to see whether Henry VIII. was a George III., as we have been led to believe. I shall, as I have said, merely touch on some points, hoping to develop the subject in some subsequent articles.

For the present, then, I shall confine myself to a few broad considerations. Firstly, did Henry VIII. create new Parliamentary constituencies over whose representatives he could exercise control? Secondly, was Parliament subservient to the King? Thirdly, did the King interfere with the established Parliamentary privileges? Fourthly, is there evidence that Parliament lost power under Henry VIII.? The general consideration of these four questions will serve to introduce the whole subject as well as provide clear-cut divisions for the future study of the question.

In 1535 Wales was brought within the sphere of English Parliamentary rule and a member was given to each of the twelve Welsh counties and to eleven Welsh boroughs. In 1543 two members are given to the county and two to the town of Chester. In this way new members were added to the House of Commons. There is no evidence to prove that these new constituencies were any more under royal control than the other and older constituencies in the country. I have made as careful research as possible in this connection—for it is obvious that if Henry VIII. wanted to acquire more power over Parliament, the proper place to look for evidence of it would be in relation to new electoral divisions—and I have found nothing among national or local manuscripts which would prove that the King was seeking to widen his power over Parliament. Nor can the creation of boroughs with Parliamentary representatives be brought forward as evidence that Henry wished to pack Parliament. Here was an obvious opportunity for such a proceeding, as the general rule holding in granting new charters to old boroughs, or in granting creating-charters to newly incorporated boroughs, was to place the right of election in the hands of a small governing body nominated by the Crown. Henry, in all, only created five boroughs—Berwick, Oxford, Preston, Lancaster, Thetford. When we remember that Edward VI. added forty-eight members to the House of Commons by creating boroughs, that Mary added twenty-one and that Elizabeth added sixty, it can easily be seen that Henry was very far from being as interfering with Parliament in this connection as any of his children. Indeed, any one who studies the estimates of population—such as they are—in different parts of the county cannot but see that Henry granted representatives to new centres of population, and this can hardly be said of any of his immediate successors.

Secondly, let us consider the question of the subservience of Parliament. There is certainly evidence with regard to direct interference with elections, and Canterbury in 1536 is a clear instance.[1] But at present I am disposed to regard such interference as the exception and not the rule. Here in connection with Canterbury we have clear records, and we should suppose that, had interference been going on all over the country, we should have had equally clear records, especially as the records as so voluminous and detailed. I have failed to find them even in sufficient extent as to warrant me in saying that the Canterbury case was in any degree common. On the other hand, there is plenty of evidence to prove that elections were well fought and hotly contested. Norwich in 1539 is a case in point.[2] The people assembled to choose knights of the shire, and there was almost a riot between Sir Edmund Knevet, who was there to support one Burgess, and Richard Southwell, who wished to be elected. Finally, the Duke of Norfolk bound over the contending parties to keep the peace. There is no question of interference with the result of the election, for Richard Southwell wrote the next day, "After the writ of election of knights of the shire openly read, my brother, Edmund Wyndeham, and I were chosen." Again in 1536 we find Katherine Blunt working in Shropshire for her son's election,[3] but as far as I can see this is merely a private and family piece of canvassing. Nor can I accept the demand of the Northern Rebels in 1536 "that Parliament be held as of old, without any servant or paid man of the King's,"[4] as conclusive evidence of extraordinary control over Parliament. It reads to me like a piece of agitators' persiflage, and certainly there *never* was a time when Parliament was without "servants and paid men of the King's." The reference, too, has been, I think, overstretched. If the Rebels meant anything, they referred to the prominent men who carried out or suggested the royal actions and not to the knights of the shire. On the other hand, I should be inclined to use the demand as a negative proof—if it means anything—that commands such as these sent to Canterbury in 1536 were not common, for had they been, the Rebels would obviously have referred to them in more explicit terms, and asked that the King should not exercise such a tyrannical practice among their Burgesses at least, considering that they placed great faith in the power of Parliament and in its ability to curb the Kings.[5] Among the many records dealing with elections I have failed to find sufficient evidence to justify the assertion that Henry packed his Parliaments; and even the few references coupled with the Rebels' demand, however strictly interpreted, would not warrant one in concluding that his interference in elections was excessive. Indeed, compared with his children he seems to have been most self-restrained in this connection. But grant for the sake of argument that royal agents controlled the return of knights of the shire throughout the country, grant that the House of Commons was in this sense "the tool of Henry VIII.," it remains yet to be seen whether Parliament was servile or not, and to be seen whether it did what Henry wanted in spite of its own wishes and its own principles. Now, no one can say that Henry VIII. was lacking in tact or foresight. He knew that he had no army behind him—that is, no standing army, except a few hundred yeomen and some hundreds of guards in scattered fortresses. In addition, he never had any money to spare for the purchase of mercenaries. He was always in debt and always seeking to obtain money by any means. It is hardly likely then that he would have risked carrying out an extensive policy which would have alienated from him the entire country. I believe that most of the measures which passed Parliament with any degree of rapidity were considered of little moment by Parliament. For example, the bill abolishing the payment of annates to Rome was passed in 1532—the year which it was introduced; but the same year the Statute of Uses was introduced, and it was not passed till 1536, because, as Chapuys records, there was popular opposition to it and Parliament would not go against it, no matter how desirous. Here was a pet bill of Henry's—a measure on which from the very beginning he had set his heart—a measure which a Venetian correspondent described at its introduction as one of the King's dearest schemes, to which he had already won over his Council, but one which "as yet Parliament refuses to admit."[6]

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[1] Letters and Papers, X., 852, 929.

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[2] Ibid., XIV., i., 800, 808.

[3] Ibid., X., 1063.

[4] Ibid., XI., 1204.

[5] Ibid., XI., 1143, 1045, 1227.

An obvious question arises. Can we say that this Parliament, generally supposed to be packed at the elections of 1529, was the servile tool of the King's when it refused frequently to pass a bill favored so openly and notoriously by the King? Would such a measure have received any resistance at all had Henry or his agents controlled the elections and seen that "royal men" were elected? Would we have been compelled to go down to the House of Parliament and to watch the voting had its members been "place-men?" I do not think the history will justify us in saying that Parliament was packed and servile. I think it will rather confirm the contemporary note of Chapuy's, "The King has had the greatest difficulty with this Parliament"—there has been in it "abominable obstinacy."[7]

Once more, Parliament seems to have lost none of its privileges, but rather to have established them. In 1512 freedom of speech (in the Strode case) was established by statute. Here was a statutory declaration of freedom of debate which appears to have had some permanence, as we find a Venetian record noting it at a considerably later period as one of the features of the English House of Commons: "Concerning His Majesty's demands, any member is at liberty to state his opinion freely for the benefit of the realm."[8]

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[6] Venetian Calendar, 1527-1533, No. 753.

[7] Letters and Papers, XI., 80.

[8] Venetian Calendar, 1527-1533, No. 694.

Other evidence is forthcoming in this connection. Two members in the King's presence spoke and advised the King to take back Catherine, and the King, though displeased, justified himself to the House in free debate.[9] Later we find Henry telling the Commons to weigh a bill and not pass it merely because he subscribed to it.[10] Indeed, discussion reached such freedom that there was almost a riot during a debate over the marriage question of the Princess Mary.[11]

Nor is the evidence for freedom of speech confined merely to the years preceding the Reformation Parliament. In 1541 it was included for the first time by the Speaker at the opening as the undoubted right of the Commons which they legally claimed from the King. Indeed, this claim in 1541 is the beginning of the custom which has continued as a regular practice to the present time. To the same period (1543 in Ferrer's case) belongs the recognition by the King of a member's freedom from arrest. Even at a moment in the development of the Constitution when it was customary for bills to be prepared by the King and his Council, we find evidence of Parliamentary pressure being brought to change the wording of the drafts and even of members introducing bills *(vide inter alia)*.[12]

On the other hand, if privileges were recognized and new ones were growing up, it is not surprising that Henry, with the traditions of his father behind him and with the generally wide pleasure produced by peace and natural development, should find means to obtain his wishes. There is one clear record of bribery and it must be mentioned, as the Government of the day seems to have been singularly free from it. During the divorce proceedings "many opposed the King in both houses: this was in the first Parliament. At the second the same thing happened, and the King rose to his feet, bidding those of his party help him, as he wished to marry. The opposition to the other party was at last overcome by money promises and threats."[13]

The question of "money" and "threats" has had its own historians and need not detain us, but the question of "promises" illustrates a certain aspect of our subject to which I have cursorily drawn attention—the King's skill in offering material advantages to further his own ends. For example, in his justification of himself to Parliament in the divorce matter, "he told them it was not a matter in which they ought to interfere, and in most gracious manner promised to support them against the Church and to investigate the rigors of the Inquisition which they have here and which is said to be more severe than in Spain."[14] Nor was the King's estimate of the national mind far wrong when we remember that Bishop Tunstall, a man of wide observation and one of the royal councillors, who was not likely to underestimate public opinion, wrote in 1536: "If the King wished to restore the said abolished authority, giving the Bishop of Rome his old profits, I think he would find much greater difficulty than in anything he ever proposed in his Parliament since his reign began."[15]

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[9] Letters and Papers, V., 989.

[10] Ibid., X., 462.

[11] Venetian Calendar, No. 1486.

[12] Letters and Papers, VI., 120, p. 6.

[13] Ibid., VI., 454.

For the present I must leave the subject here and resume my considerations later, as I have exceeded space. One observation or two in conclusion—nobody seems to have been anxious to sit in Parliament. Membership was an obvious burden,[16] and there was in the sixteenth century no party machinery to bring home to a member his duties to a constituency. Again, whatever we may justly think of the drastic Henrician Government, we must never forget that during his reign were laid the foundations of the supremacy of the law enacted by King and Parliament—so much so that Thomas Smith, writing his "Commonwealth of England" fifty years later, could speak of the King's supremacy as existing only in Parliament.[17] The great Rebellion had to take place to settle finally the Tudor pact and the political writer's theory; but when one day the constitutional history of the sixteenth century is written, there will, I think, emerge a serious reconstruction of historical opinion.

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[14] Ibid., V., 989.

[15] Ibid., XI., 72, p. 35.

[16] Cf. Ibid., VI., 106, 112, 385, etc.

[17] De Republica Anglorum, II., c. 1.

TWO PRECURSORS OF DANTE.

ST. ADAMNAIN, the great Irish seer, lived nearly six centuries before Dante Alighieri, the author of the "Divina Commedia," as he was born between 624 and 627 A. D., for the date of his birth is given differently by various writers, the latter being the more probably correct, according to Lanigan.

He was of very high birth, his father being an Irish nobleman descended from ancient chiefs. Like many Irish noblemen of that period, Adamnain became a priest, and about the year 650 he entered the monastery at Iona founded by St. Columkill and took the habit. He became celebrated for both his piety and his learning and on the death of Abbot Failbhe he was chosen to succeed him.

An anecdote[1] is told of Adamnain when a boy and studying at one of the so-called Irish universities, where the pupils lived in huts made of wattle and were inadequately provided for by the State. So crowded were these schools that the poor scholars had to supplement the food allowed them by the Government by begging. Adamnain was one day returning from a begging expedition carrying a large pitcher full of milk, when he met a company of horsemen galloping along, and to avoid being run over he stepped hastily aside, and in so doing upset the milk. He then ran by the side of the horsemen until they stopped at the end of their journey, when the leader entered into conversation with the boy, and was ultimately induced to offer him and his tutor and companions a home and to provide for them. This leader was none other than the famous Finnachta, and the tutor prophesied that he would become eventually King of Ireland, as actually happened, and that Adamnain would one day be his confessor.

After he became abbot, Adamnain, like other Irish saints, took part sometimes in political events, and when the King of Northumbria, Egfrid, was succeeded by his son Alfred, with whom Adamnain had become acquainted, when as a young man he was exiled to Ireland, the abbot went to England to interview the new King and to beg of him the release of some Irish captives, whom Egfrid had carried away into slavery after a raid he made on the Irish coast. In this mission Adamnain was successful and took back with him to Ireland sixty Irishmen who had been in captivity for some years.

On this visit to England Adamnain made the acquaintance of the Venerable Bede, which ripened into friendship, and in his history Bede speaks of Adamnain as "a good and wise man, most excellently instructed in the knowledge of the Scriptures."

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[1] "An Irish Precursor of Dante," by C. S. Boswell; 1908.

Two years later Adamnain visited Bede again to discuss two points of Church discipline, in which the Irish differed from the Roman use. One of these points was the time of keeping Easter and the other was the shape of the tonsure, which in Ireland was then worn in the form of a crescent. On his return to England Adamnain traveled about the country endeavoring to persuade his countrymen to conform to the Roman custom as to the time of celebrating Easter, and succeeded almost everywhere, except in his own monastery and the Isle of Iona, and no arguments could persuade the islanders and his own monks to change, so that the truth of Our Lord's saying, "No man is a prophet in his own country," was well fulfilled in him.

Another very important reform which Adamnain undertook by the coercion of his mother, Ronat, was the emancipation of the Irish women from military service, to which they were then subject, although to what extent is disputed. An old Irish treatise called the "Cain Adamnain" describes how reluctant Adamnain was to act in this matter and the austerities his mother imposed upon him until he consented to help in a cause in which she had so keen an interest. For four years Adamnain endured these rigid penances, and then an angel appeared to him and promised that women should be released from this obligation. Adamnain then set to work to bring it about, and by so doing so offended some of the Irish princes that they plotted to kill him. Finally an agreement was drawn up and signed, prohibiting in future the employment of women as soldiers and the slaying of women by men with impunity.

Adamnain was very ascetic, and it is said that he never ate except on Sundays and Thursdays. He was evidently a man with great influence over others, as witness these reforms, both difficult to accomplish. He was also very learned and very holy, resembling in many respects Abbot Sampson, of St. Edmondsbury, whom Carlyle has immortalized in "Past and Present;" but Adamnain, though not formally canonized, was a saint as well as a great churchman and powerful abbot.

He was called on account of his learning "the Great Scholar of the Western World." His most famous literary work was the "Life of St. Columkill." "The Vision," or "Fis Adamnain," although bearing his name, was not written by him, but is a description of a vision he had, which some much later writer put into literary form. Some critics maintain that it is not older than the eleventh century, but others put it as early as the ninth.[2] Professor Windisch is one of these last.

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[2] "An Irish Precursor of Dante," p. 25.

The life beyond the grave has always been a favorite subject in Irish legend; even in pre-Christian times there were legends of Elysium and Tartarus, and the pagan hell was more terrible if possible than either Dante's Inferno or any other Christian hell. From the earliest days of Irish Christianity visions of Paradise and Purgatory and hell were granted to the holy hermits and monks, who made Ireland an island of saints. St. Columkill was frequently visited by angels, who revealed to him many things concerning the good and the wicked after death. St. Fursa was even more favored with visions of the Blessed Trinity, of the heavenly host, of heaven and Purgatory and also of hell. St. Laisren, another Irish saint, left an account of a vision he had of a visit to hell, whither he was conveyed by two angels after he had been fasting for nine days as a preparation for cleansing a church which had been defiled by some crime.

But the "Fis Adamnain" is the most celebrated of all these Irish visions of the world to come.

We find almost invariably that all the saints who have had visions or trances, in which they have been transported to the world of spirits, whether to Paradise or Purgatory or hell, are accompanied by a guide, generally an angel. Dante, as we know, was led through hell by the poet Virgil, who had himself described the Elysian Fields and Tartarus, the pagan heaven and hell, but when the great Italian poet reached the earthly Paradise, he was handed over to Beatrice to conduct him through Paradise and heaven. The visions of St. Hildegarde and St. Elizabeth of Schönau were always revealed to them by an angel, who accompanied them, and the Irish seers were generally led by their guardian angels when in spirit they visited the realms of spirits. St. Adamnain was no exception to this rule—his guardian angel accompanied him.

In the Book of Enoch, the earliest of all these visions, the Archangel Michael was the guardian spirit to accompany the seer. In the vision of the Prophet Esdras, the Archangel Gabriel and twenty other angels accompanied him. St. Fursa had three angels as his guides.

The excellent translation of the "Fis Adamnain" by C. S. Boswell, from whom these particulars of the saint's life were derived, only occupies about twenty pages of print, divided into numbered paragraphs which may in the original have been verses, for the whole is a poem whether written in prose or verse. In the second of these paragraphs Adamnain says: "There were multitudes of the saints and righteous ones of the Lord of Creation, unto whom have been revealed the secrets and mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, and finally unto Adamnain, the high scholar of the western world, were revealed the things which are here recorded."

Unlike Dante, who was taken first to hell and then through Purgatory to Paradise, Adamnain went first to the land of the saints, "a bright land of fair weather." Between the land of the saints and the heaven of the heavenly hosts, or nine choirs of angels (in which division he followed Dionysius, the pseudo-Areopagite), is a crystal veil, but there is no veil between the heavenly hosts and the land of the saints on the angels' side; it is open and not even a cloud is between. This seems a beautiful allegorical touch, symbolizing the fuller knowledge of the angels.

Another beautiful thought, both consoling and of deep meaning, occurs in the sixth paragraph, where it is said: "Now the Twelve Apostles and Mary, the pure Virgin, form a band apart about the mighty Lord. Next to the apostles are the patriarchs and prophets and the disciples of Jesus. On the other side are holy Virgins at Mary's right hand, *and with no great space between.*"

Music plays an important part in Adamnain's account of the land of the saints, in which he describes the saints as alternately singing marvelous music in praise of God and then listening to the music of the heavenly host. On the throne before the heavenly King are three wonderful birds, who sing the eight canonical hours with the archangels, they leading and the angels and saints and virgins responding, and this music is one of the joys of Paradise.[3]

He makes no attempt to describe the Lord Himself, for he says: "None could tell of His splendor and loveliness, His might and power, His glow and brightness, nor of the multitude of archangels and angels who sing His praise in music sweeter than all the music in the world."

In his account of the heavenly city, he says it is surrounded by seven crystal walls and the floor thereof is crystal, shot with blue and green and purple and every color. It is lighted by 7,000 angels like great candles, who shine round about it, and 7,000 other angels illuminate the midst of it, and these are eternally aflame. The choirs of angels are divided by a screen or rail of silver, set with precious stones, and some of these stones are vocal and make soft, melodious music—an idea which occurs in several Irish legends.

Outside the principal door of this marvelous city are countless souls who are shut out from its delights by two veils, one of fire and one of ice, which cover the gateway and continually clash against each other, making discord for those outside and sweetest music for those within the walls. This is another characteristic touch of Adamnain's, whose mind seems to have been cast in a subjective mould. There are seven heavens in his Paradise, all of which are guarded by two angelic beings, one of whom acts as a warder and the other as a porter. At the door of the first heaven the archangel sits with two youths by him armed with iron rods to scourge the sinners who pass through this realm, but permit the righteous to pass untouched.

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[3] "Fis Adamnain," p. 32.

The Archangel Ariel sits at the door of the second heaven, and a river of fire lies before the door, in which the souls of the righteous are purified. A fiery furnace burns in the third heaven, the righteous souls pass unscathed through it in the twinkling of an eye, but sinners are burnt in it for twelve years.

The fourth heaven is surrounded by a wall of fire and the righteous pass through it as though it were not there, but the wicked have to remain in it another twelve years suffering torment. In the fifth heaven is a fiery whirlpool, in which the souls of the wicked are tossed about for sixteen years, but the holy souls pass unscathed through it. There is no pain in the sixth heaven, but the righteous here attain the brilliancy of precious stones, and then the angel of the Holy Trinity and the Archangel Michael lead the soul into the Divine Presence.

The welcome accorded to the righteous soul by the Lord and the heavenly host is said to be infinite and beyond all telling, but to the wicked the Mighty Lord is said to be harsh and ungentle, and He orders the angels to deliver the lost soul into the hands of Lucifer to plunge him into hell forever. The twentieth paragraph describing this terrible doom deserves to be quoted:

"Thereupon that wretched soul is parted, fearfully, sternly, awfully, from sight of the heavenly kingdom and God's countenance. Then utters he a groan, heavier than any groan, as he comes into the devil's presence after beholding the bliss of the kingdom of heaven. Twelve fiery dragons swallow up every spirit, one after the other, until the lowest dragon lands him in the devil's maw. Then doth he experience the consummation of all evil in the devil's own presence throughout all ages."[4]

His guardian angel then takes Adamnain to visit hell and its torments; in the course of the journey an enormous bridge is encountered, such as is frequently described in other Irish legends. This bridge, which is very wide in parts and very narrow in other places, passes over a fiery chasm into which the souls of the wicked fall, but the penitent souls pass over in safety.

Many of the torments of the lost in Adamnain's vision resemble those of Dante's Inferno—some souls stand up to their waists in blackest pitch, some are chained to fiery columns; demons armed with fiery clubs strike others; others again are covered with cowls of ice. If anything the torments described by Adamnain are worse than those Dante saw, and it is probable that the author of the "Divina Commedia" derived some of his ideas from Adamnain's vision, which was in all probability known to him.

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[4] "Fis Adamnain," p. 38.

Beyond this land of torment is the nethermost hell, in which no soul dwells till after the Day of Judgment; until then it is the abode of the demons, and it is seven times more horrible than the place of torment, from which a fiery wall divides it.

After Adamnain had passed through the place of torment, his guardian angel bore him back in the twinkling of an eye through the crystal veil to the land of the saints, but he was not permitted to remain there, as he had hoped to do, for the angel ordered him to return to his body, from which he had departed, and go and tell to great congregations of men and women, clerics and lay folk, the wonders he had seen, with the rewards of heaven and the pains of hell, just as his guardian angel had shown them to him.

The vision concludes with a beautiful peroration, quoting some of the sources from which the seer had derived his doctrine and summing up the delights of the heavenly city. He mentions St. Patrick, the Holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, Pope Silvester and the Prophet Elias as corroborating his teaching. His allusion to Enoch is a curious one. He says: "It is easy to mark the look of sorrow upon the face of Elias and upon the face of Enoch, and these are the two sorrows of the heavenly kingdom."

That the writer of the "Fis Adamnain" was familiar with the Book of Enoch and unconsciously influenced by it seems certain. for the points of resemblance between the two visions are too striking to be mere coincidences, and there is little doubt that the book was known in Ireland in Adamnain's time. Moreover, other Irish visions of heaven and hell show traces of its influence.

The best critics and commentators on the Book of Enoch now place its date in the second and first centuries B. C.[5]

All writers of the New Testament were familiar with it and appear to have been more or less influenced by it. St. Jude expressly quotes it in his Epistle, and St. Barnabas called it Scripture. It is also quoted in the Book of Jubilees, the Apocalypse of Baruch and the fourth book of Esdras, none of which are canonical books.

The early fathers and some at least of the apostles considered it a canonical book, but towards the close of the third and the beginning of the fourth century A. D. it began to be discredited and finally was condemned as uncanonical by the Church.

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[5] "The Book of Enoch," translated from the Ethiopic text and edited by R. H. Charles, M. A.; Oxford, 1893; p. 25.

From the year 800 till 1773 it was lost sight of, and then a copy of the Ethiopian version was found in Abyssinia by Bruce, who brought home three copies. There are now seventeen MSS. of the Ethiopian version in Europe, of which one is in the Vatican Library, one in Paris and the rest are in the British Museum. The Bodlean possesses a copy.

The book has had numerous critics and commentators, especially in Germany. Fragments of a Hebrew version have been found, and some critics believe the original was written in Hebrew; there are also some Greek versions, and a French commentator, Vernes, believes the early part was written in Aramaic. Although it professes to be the work of Enoch, "the seventh from Adam," it is now believed to be the work of several authors, which theory the internal evidence of the book itself confirms. For instance, in the second section of the book, whenever God is spoken of, with one single exception, He is called the Lord of Spirits, and this expression never occurs in any of the other sections. Again, in the fourth section, He is nearly always spoken of as the Lord of the sheep, and this does not occur in any other section. In the second and fifth sections He is spoken of by the unique title, the Head of Days,[6] Twice only in the whole book, and that in the third and fifth sections, He is spoken of as the Creator. In the second section only the Messiah is distinctly alluded to under the titles the Righteous One, the Elect One, His Anointed and the Son of Man. The Lord of Glory occurs at least once in every section except the fifth, where the Great Glory is substituted.

There are many interpolations by later writers in the text, most of which relate to a lost Apocalypse of Noah. Some of the writers of these additions were Christian. Indeed, the final edition is believed by one critic, Tideman, to have been edited by a Christian Gnostic in the year 125 A. D.

St. Jerome and St. Augustine both considered the book as apocryphal. Tertullian, on the other hand, regarded it as Scripture, and Origen was doubtful about it.

St. Jude, as we have said, directly quotes from Enoch (Jude v., 14-15). Many passages from the Apocalypse are similar to passages in the Book of Enoch. For example, St. John speaks of the four angels of the winds, and Enoch of the spirits of the winds. Both mention seeing a star fall from heaven (Apoc. ix., 1; Enoch lxxxvi., 1). St. John speaks of the angel of the waters (Apoc. xvi., 5); Enoch of the spirit of the sea (Enoch lx., 16). St. John says that "the sea and heaven and Hades gave up their dead which were in them" (Apoc. xx., 13), and Enoch says that the earth and

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[6] Ibid., p. 41.

Sheol and hell will do so, or uses words to that effect (Enoch li., 1). St. John says that "the wicked shall be cast into the lake of fire" (Apoc. xx., 15), and Enoch says they "shall be cast into that fiery abyss" (Enoch xc., 26).

In almost all the Catholic Epistles expressions are found resembling closely passages in the Book of Enoch. In the New Testament demons are spoken of as disembodied spirits. In the Book of Enoch demons are the spirits of the giants, mentioned in Genesis as the offspring of the fallen angels and the daughters of men.

St. Paul several times speaks of the angels as principalities and powers. Enoch twice at least speaks of "the angels of principalities and powers" (Enoch lxi., 10). They both use the expression, "He Who is blessed forever." St. Paul speaks of the "children of light" and Enoch "of the generation of light." Both use the expressions "the King of Kings and Lord of Lords" (I. Tim. vi., 15; Enoch ix., 4).

In the Gospels also expressions and sentences are found which occur in Enoch. In St. Luke and in Enoch the Messiah is referred to as "the Elect One" more than once. This evangelist and Enoch use the expression "the Mammon of unrighteousness." In St. Matt. xix., 28, it is said: "When the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory," and in Enoch (lxii., 5) we find, "When they see the Son of Man sitting on the throne of His glory."

There can be little doubt, then, that this book was well known to the apostles and to the early Jewish writers, especially the author of the Book of Jubilees,[7] written in the year 70 B. C. It is the earliest book of visions known to exist, so that if any part of it were really by Enoch, whom a Jewish legend regards as the first person to reduce thought to writing, he might be called the first mystic.

The book is in five sections and is much longer than the "Vision of Adamnain," with which we will now compare it. The first section is fragmentary; the second is called the Similitudes; the third is known as the Book of Celestial Physics; the fourth as the Dream-Visions, and the fifth as the Apocalypse of Weeks, which last contains a most curious account of the birth of Noah.

Like Adamnain, Enoch in his vision is first taken to heaven, and the similarity to his description of the heavenly city, with its crystal walls and fiery flames, is so like Adamnain's and also so beautiful that we will quote some verses of it:

"And the vision appeared to me thus: Behold in the vision clouds invited me and a mist invited me; the course of the stars and the lightnings drove and impelled me, and the winds in the vision gave me wings and drove me. And they lifted me up into heaven, and I came till I drew near *a wall which is built of crystals and surrounded by a fiery flame;* and it began to affright me. And I went into *the fiery flame*, and drew nigh to a large house which was *built of crystals;* and the walls of that house were *like a mosaic crystal floor*, and *the groundwork was of crystal*. Its ceiling was like the path of the stars and lightnings, with fiery cherubim between in a transparent heaven. A flaming fire surrounded the walls of the house and its portal blazed with fire."

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[7] "The Book of Jubilees, or the Little Genesis," edited by R. H. Charles, M. A.: London, 1902.

Surely this is not unlike Adamnain's "city surrounded by its seven walls and its floor of fair crystal, with the sun's countenance upon it shot with blue and purple and green and every hue beside."

He, too, was awed by the sight, for he says, "Awful is that city and wonderful to describe." It may be remembered that Adamnain saw in the main doorway of that city a veil of fire and a veil of ice clashing against each other.

Enoch says: "And I entered into that house, and it was *as hot as fire and as cold as ice;* there were no delights of life therein; fear covered me and trembling gat hold upon me."

He then enters into a second house, whose floor was fire and its ceiling a flaming fire. "And in every respect it so excelled in splendor and extent that I cannot describe to you its splendor and its extent. And I looked and saw therein a lofty throne; its appearance was as hoarfrost, its circuit was as a shining sun and the voices of cherubim. And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow." (Enoch xiv., 17-21.)

Here again we get this contrast of heat and cold, the hoarfrost and the shining sun. Adamnain says this throne was "fashioned like a canopied chair," and he thus continues: "Over the head of the Glorious One that sitteth upon the royal throne is a great arch, like unto a wrought helmet or a regal diadem. Six thousand thousands surround the fiery chair, which still urns on without end or term." (Fis Adam., 9.)

Enoch, speaking of this throne, says: "And from underneath the great throne came streams of flaming fire, so that it was impossible to look thereon. None of the angels could enter and could behold the face of the Honored and Glorious One, and no flesh could behold Him. A flaming fire was round about Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none of those who were around Him could draw nigh Him: ten thousand times ten thousand were before Him, but He stood in no need of counsel." (Enoch xiv., 21-24.)

Although the two seers differ as to details, for instance, as to the number of thousands of those surrounding the throne, there is a striking resemblance in their account of this fiery throne itself, and when they come to speak of Him Who sitteth upon this throne, the same reverence and awe characterized them both.

Enoch after the last quotation continues thus: "And until then I had had a veil on my face, and I was trembling: then the Lord called me with His own mouth and spake to me: 'Come hither, Enoch, and hear My holy word.' And He made me rise up and approach the door: but I turned my face downwards." (Ibid. xiv., 24-25.)

Enoch does not here make any attempt to describe this Mighty Lord; Adamnain says it is impossible to do so. "Now to describe the Mighty Lord that is upon that throne is not for any unless Himself should do so, or so direct the heavenly dignitaries. For none could tell of His vehemence and His might, His glow and splendor, His rightness and loveliness, His liberality and steadfastness, nor of the multitude of His angels and archangels who chant their songs to Him." Nevertheless, Adamnain a little further on does try to describe the indescribable, and uses a very original image in so doing. He says: "Whoso should stand facing about him, east and west, south and north, would behold on each side of Him a majestic countenance seven times as radiant as the sun. No human form thereto with hand or foot may be discerned, but a fiery mass burning on forever, while one and all are filled with awe and trembling before Him. Heaven and earth are filled full with the light of Him, and a radiance as of a royal star encircles Him." (Fis Adam., 33.)

In the second section of the Book of Enoch, in which the expression the Head of Days is applied to Almighty God, the patriarch, speaking of his translation into heaven, also attempts a description of Him Who sat upon the throne, and, like Adamnain, finds it impossible.

He says after he was translated into the heaven of heavens he saw a house built of crystals, and between the crystals flames of living fire and the seraphim and the cherubim and orphanim guarding the throne of glory, and angels who could not be counted and the four archangels, Michael and Gabriel, Rafael and Fanuel, and with them the Head of Days, His head white and pure as wool and His raiment indescribable. And I fell on my face and my whole body melted away, but my spirit was transfigured, and I cried with a loud voice with the spirit of power and blessed and glorified and extolled." (Enoch, Sec. II., 5-12.)

A little further on in this second section of the Book of Enoch he tells how he saw Our Lord also: "And there I saw One Who had a head of days, and His head was white like wool, and with Him was another being Whose countenance had the appearance of a man, and His face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels. And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things concerning that Son of Man, Who He was and whence He was and why He went with the Head of Days?" (Sec. II., 46.)

In one respect Enoch and Adamnain differ greatly—Adamnain's heaven is filled with music, as we have said, but there is no mention of music in the Book of Enoch. The blessed and the angels bless and praise and extol and glorify God and give thanks and rejoice, but it is never said that they sing or that there is any music in heaven.

It is very beautifully said "that they believe and give thanks before the Lord of Spirits and glorify Him with all their power, and their food is nothing but thanksgiving." (Sec. II., 69.)

Seven has ever been a favorite mystic number. Adamnain saw seven heavens, "and hard of essay are they all, nor is one of them easier than the rest." He also saw seven crystal walls round the Celestial City, while Enoch saw seven magnificent mountains, on the highest of which was the throne of God. Enoch twice mentions that the light of the sun exceeds that of the moon seven times, and in another place he says that one-seventh of the light of the sun is transferred to the light of the moon.

In the Book of Enoch Purgatory is called Sheol or Hades, and the writer of the first section places it in the far west, but in all the other sections of the book it is situated in the underworld. There are four divisions in Hades—two for the righteous and two for the wicked. The final abode of the wicked is hell, an abyss in the midst of the earth, a furnace of fire into which the incorporeal spirits of the wicked are cast. Sheol is described as an abyss full of fire and flaming and full of pillars of fire. (Enoch, Sec. IV., 90.)

Adamnain also mentions a fiery furnace in the third heaven, "kept ever burning, its flames reaching a height of 1,200 cubits, through which the souls of the righteous pass in the twinkling of an eye, but the souls of sinners are baked and scorched therein for twelve years, and then their guardian angel conveys them to the fourth door."

Adamnain also sees columns of fire, to which the souls of the wicked are fettered, a sea of fire about them up to their chins, with fiery chains in the form of vipers round their waists. (Fis Adam., 40.)

Rivers of fire are common to the author of the Book of Enoch and to Adamnain as part of the topography of the underworld.

A river of fire is said by Adamnain to lie before the door of the third heaven, of which the Archangel Ariel is the guardian. Another angel named Abersetus washes the souls of the righteous and purges them according to their guilt in this stream whose surface is an ever-burning flame. A similar stream of fire runs outside the door of the fourth heaven, and in the third there is a fiery river "which is unlike all other rivers, for in the midst of it is a strange kind of whirlpool, wherein the souls of the wicked keep turning round and round, and there they abide for sixteen years." (Fis Adam., 37.)

In hell there is, according to Adamnain, a fiery glen, in which red showers of fire rain day and night upon the wicked, which they cannot ward off, and some of them have streams of fire in the hollows of their faces and fiery nails through their tongues, and a great multitude of these lost ones were clad in red and fiery mantles down to their waists.

In the Book of Enoch it is said in Section I.: "And they took me away to a place where there were forms like flaming fire, and when they wished they appeared as men. And they conducted me to the place of the whirlwind. And I came to a river of fire, the fire of which flows like water and discharges itself into the great sea in the west." (Enoch, Sec. I., 17.)

Again, on another occasion, the writer of this book saw two streams of fire coming from out the throne and the light of that fire shone like hyacinth, and there, too, he saw the "sons of the holy angels stepping on flames of fire." This refers to the offspring of the angels and the daughters of men mentioned in Genesis.

In the "Book of Jubilees" or the "Little Genesis," written by a Pharisee who died in 105 B. C., it is said that Enoch was the first person who learnt the art of writing with pen and ink and learnt also knowledge and wisdom, and who wrote down all the signs of heaven. "And he was the first to write a testimony, and what was and what will be he saw in a vision." (Book of Jubilees iv., 17.)

In contradiction to this we are told in the Book of Enoch that the art of writing was first taught to man by one of the Satans or fallen angels, and the name of this demon was Penemue.

"He taught the children of men the bitter and the sweet, and taught them all the secrets of their wisdom. And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to eternity and unto this day. For it was not intended when man was created that he should give confirmation to his good faith in this wise with pen and ink." (Enoch, Sec. II., 69.)

The learned commentator on this strange passage does not think that the writer means altogether to condemn the art of writing, but "only when it is used as a safeguard against the bad faith of men."

There is a curious contrast between the birds mentioned in the "Fis Adamnain" and those of which Enoch speaks. In the "Fis Adamnain" we have seen the birds join with the archangels in leading the music of the Divine Office, while three stately birds perch upon the throne, symbolizing the Holy Trinity. This making the birds sing the praises of Almighty God in heaven, as they seem to us to do on earth, is one of Adamnain's happiest touches.

In the Book of Enoch the only birds mentioned are birds of prey—the eagle, the raven, the vulture and the kite, all of which are extremely unmusical; but the birds and animals mentioned in this vision are all used symbolically. The eagle symbolizes the Greeks or Macedonians, the ravens the Syrians, the vultures and kites the Egyptians—all enemies of the children of Israel. (Enoch, p. 248, note.)

The angiology of the Old and New Testament differs, so we are not surprised to find that while Adamnain follows the teaching of Dionysius, the pseudo-Areopagite, the writers of the Book of Enoch, being all at any rate pre-Christian, follow that of the Jewish dispensation.

Adamnain, although he alludes to the "nine classes of heaven after their rank and order," does not specify the nine orders of angels by their particular names—he speaks of the archangels, of whom he mentions two, Michael and Ariel; the angels, the guardian angels, the heavenly host and the angel of the Trinity, and he says that each "several choir about him chant three thousand different songs, and sweeter than all the varied music of the world is each individual song of them." (Fis Adamnain, 33.)

He says also "that the unspeakable power of God has set and keeps them face to face in ranks and lofty coronals all round the throne, circling it in brightness and bliss, their faces all turned towards God." (Fis Adam., 34.)

In the Book of Enoch, besides the four archangels, are mentioned the cherubim and seraphim, the orphanim, the angels of principality, the angels of power, the virtues, the angel of peace and the angel of the Presence.

The angels of punishment in the Book of Enoch are the demons or Satans, or spirits which according to Enoch are the fallen angels, who took to themselves wives of the daughters of men, and also the spirits of the giants, who were said to be their progeny.

The demons of Enoch have three functions—to tempt to evil, to accuse the fallen and to punish and torment the condemned.

In the "Fis Adamnain" hell and the demons which inhabit it are thus described: "Mountains, caverns and thorny brakes, plains, bare and parched with stagnant, serpent-haunted lochs are the nature of it. The soil is rough and sandy, very rugged, icebound. Broad fiery flagstones bestrew the plain. Great seas are there, with horrible abysses, wherein is the devil's constant habitation and abiding place.

"Four mighty rivers cross the middle of it—a river of fire, a river of snow, a river of poison, a river of black, murky water. In these wallow eager hosts of demons after making their holiday and their delight in tormenting souls." (Fis Adam., 43.)

The chief function of Adamnain's demons is punishing and tormenting the lost souls.

The interpolations in the "Book of Enoch," and they are many, which refer to Noah have no connection with the visions, but the account of the birth of Noah, referred to above, is so curious that we venture to quote it. In the fifth section of his book Enoch says:

"And after some days my son Methusaleh took a wife for his son Lamech, and she became pregnant by him and bore a son. And his body was white as snow and red as a blooming rose, and the hair of his head and his long locks were white as wool, and his eyes beautiful. And when he opened his eyes, he lighted up the whole house like the sun, and the whole house was very full of light. And when he was taken from the hand of the midwife, he opened his mouth and conversed with the Lord of righteousness. And his father, Lamech, was afraid of him and fled and came to his father, Methusaleh, and he said to him:

"I have begotten a strange son; he is not like a man, but resembles the children of the angels of heaven, and his nature is different, and he is not like us, and his eyes are as the rays of the sun and his countenance is glorious. And I fear that in his day a wonder may be wrought on the earth. And now, my father, I am here to beseech and implore thee, that thou go to our father, Enoch, and learn from him the truth, for his dwelling place is amongst the angels.' And when Methusaleh heard the words of his son, he came to me to the ends of the earth, for he had heard that I was there, and he cried aloud and I heard his voice and came to him."

Methusaleh then repeats Lamech's story and Enoch prophesies the Deluge, and says that the child is to be called Noah.

There is another curious prophecy in the fifth section of this Book of Enoch, which might be said to refer to the present art of flying and to trench warfare:

"And in the day of tribulation of sinners, your children will mount and rise as eagles, and higher than the vultures will be your nest, and ye will ascend as squirrels, and enter into the crevices of the earth and the clefts of the rock before the unrighteous."

This prophecy is the more remarkable when read in connection with the witness borne to Enoch's prophetic powers in the Book of Jubilees, wherein it is said: "Enoch was the first to write a testimony, and what was said and what will be, he saw in a vision of his sleep, as it will happen to the children of men throughout their generations until the day of judgment; he saw and understood everything and wrote his testimony, and placed the testimony on earth for all the children of men and for their generations."

If the testimony of the author of the Book of Jubilees is to be relied on, then Enoch's prophecy may refer to us, who are certainly sinners, and no less certainly living in a day of tribulation.

The Book of Jubilees, though uncanonical, was known to and quoted by some of the fathers of the Church, among others by St. Jerome, Epiphanius, Didymus of Alexandria, Origen, Severus of Antioch and Isidore of Seville. It had several other titles besides the "Little Genesis;" it was also known as "The Apocalypse of Moses," "The Testament of Moses," "The Book of Adam's Daughter" and "The Life of Adam."[8]

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[8] Introduction to "Book of Jubilees," edited by R. H. Charles, M. A.; London, 1902.

CARDINAL GUIBERT.

"GOD," wrote the late Cardinal Richard, "has given to the venerable Cardinal Guibert the grace of having been in our time the personification of the moral authority of the Church in society, an authority at once mild and strong—*suaviter et fortiter*."[1]

At the request of his successor in the archiepiscopal See of Paris, who penned this concise eulogium, which sums up in one sentence the most striking features of a long and distinguished career, Monsieur Paguelle de Follenay, vice rector of the Catholic Institute, has told in two large octavo volumes the life-story of this typical Oblate religious and great prelate.[2]

A native of Aix, in Provence, in that sunny southern region of France where the people reflect in their character the light and beauty and joyousness of the country and its climate—where in olden times their inherent *gaicté francaise* was melodiously voiced in the songs of the troubadours—Joseph Hippolyte Guibert was a fellow-townsman of the founder of the Oblates, of whom he was the *alter ego,* his other self, closely united by racial as well as religious ties to the missioner-Bishop of Marseilles, both Provencals, both familiar from their boyhood with the local dialect, the homely speech of the people, so dear to their hearts. Born on December 13, 1802, he was the son of Pierre Guibert, a member of a family who originally migrated from the mountainous district of Barcelonnette, in the Lower Alps. His father was what would be designated in English a market gardener, a small farmer or peasant-proprietor, tilling the land he owned, a class essentially conservative, who are noted for having preserved religious faith, patriarchal virtues and habits and respect for paternal authority, who give to the army its best soldiers and to the Church its best priests, an energetic and hard-working race who laboriously earn their bread by the sweat of their brows.

His family was of old date attached to the Catholic faith. In the course of the preceding generations it had given to the Church an Augustinian who, under the name of Father Michael, had acquired a reputation as a preacher until, secularized by the Revolution, he retired to Aix, where he died in 1821, at the age of eighty-six. The Cardinal knew him and loved to speak of him, treasuring the manuscripts of his sermons which had been bequeathed to him and which he availed of as an oratorical mine upon which he drew largely.

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[1] Pastoral Letter, August 6, 1886.

[2] "Vie du Cardinal Guibert, Archevêque de Paris," par J. Paguelle de Follenay, Chanoine honoraire, vice recteur de l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Paris: Librairie Ch. Poussielgue.

Pierre Guibert passed unscathed through the great crisis of the Revolution. Though he was sufficiently well-to-do in 1826 as to be able to buy another holding, hard times supervened when the family suffered from real poverty. When, in after years, Father Guibert was superior of the seminary at Ajaccio, he wrote to a brother Oblate, Father Tempier: "I remember towards the close of the Empire, in times of great distress, when I was still very young, my parents made me take my meal apart along with my sisters; they took theirs after us and only ate what we left, and I know well that they had not always wherewithal to satisfy their hunger. I always recall this touching recollection at the refectory door."

Like many others in the Church and in the world, he had been early trained in the school of poverty. "Attaining to the highest honors of the Church," said his panegyrist, "he will never forget how, more than once, he had been fed with bread spared through the privations of his parents. At once by instinct and by virtue, by respect for domestic traditions, and later by religious vow, he will love poverty. He was born, lived and died with it. But in his hands it has become the inexhaustible source of the most abundant liberality. This poor one has had the honor and the joy to be the father of the poor. *Pauper sibi, divis pauperibus erat.*"

The whole family lived in the small house, 53 Lisse Saint-Jean, in which the future Cardinal was born. There is still there a curious memorial of the piety of its inhabitants, a wooden statue of the Blessed Virgin, with the Divine Infant in her arms, of unknown origin, darkened by age and apparently dating from the fifteenth century. "It is sweet to think," observes his biographer, "that Mary smiled at the childish gambols of the great Archbishop, as, from Notre Dame de Paris, she was to bless his later works."

His grandmother, the daughter of Jean Joseph Pécout, a stonecutter, also bore the name of Mary. The churches were closed when, in 1798, his mother, before she had completed her fourteenth year, was privately married to Pierre Guibert, then thirty-one. Despite her extreme youth and the disparity of age, she had what in France is considered a numerous family. She was only eighteen when her illustrious son, Joseph Hippolyte, was born. He was the pet of his mother and grandmother. The latter loved to dress the pretty child so as to attract admiration. Having once gone to visit a person in the service of the Régusse family, whose mansion was near their house, Marie Turcas, who carried her little grandson in her arms, was met in the vestibule by one of those noble ladies who, struck by the child's beauty and his dress, said somewhat ironically, "What do they want to make of this child? Do they want to make him a Cardinal?" The Régusse family were afterwards intimate friends of the pretty baby boy, who in process of time actually became a Cardinal.

His home upbringing was in the midst of an honest, simple, affectionate and truly Christian family. We are told how the child used to play at chapel as other children play at soldiers. In 1881 the mind of the aged Cardinal, then seventy-nine, wandered back to his happy childhood days, when Canon Rolland, who had founded a workmen's club at Aix, begged a subscription from the Archbishop of Paris and received a donation of 300 francs in a letter containing the following reminiscence: "I take a particular interest in the workmen's club founded in my native country and which has transferred itself to quite near my humble birthplace in the former Hotel de l'Intendance. How often, when I was a child, I went to play with children of my age in the vast courtyard of that mansion, then occupied, if I don't deceive myself, by the gendarmerie."

The old church of St. John of Malta, the sanctuary of the Commandery of the Knights of Malta, built in 1251, near his birthplace in the Rue Lisse Saint-Jean, was also the birthplace of his spiritual life, for it was there he was received as a young boy into the choir. He had been baptized there, and when, long afterwards, loaded with years and honors and regarded as the oracle of the French episcopate, he entered it, he was seen to remain long on his knees on the steps of the baptismal chapel, resting his head on the large black-painted iron railing, as he meditated and prayed, and then, in the same humble and thoughtful attitude, going to the altar rails where he made his first Communion. Then, upon his return to the great city of which he was the supreme pastor, his affectionate gratitude found expression in handsome presents to the humble parish of the faubourg which was associated with unforgotten memories of his childhood days. He had had the happiness of having as confessor during the months that preceded his first Communion a priest whom the town of Aix venerated as a saint. This was the Abbé Denis, curate of the parish of the Holy Ghost, who did not emigrate during the dark days of the Revolution, but remained to secretly minister to the flock. In the most perilous times he went from house to house disguised as a peddler, laden with a pack of Paris goods, in order to afford poor, terrorized souls the consolations and succors of his sacred ministry. It was M. Etienne Christine, curé of St. John of Malta, who discerned the vocation of young Guibert, whom he lived to see Bishop of Viviers.

"Called to combat for the Church and in the first rank," says M. de Follenay, "it was good for him to know quite young those who had struggled and suffered for the faith; nothing better strengthens the character than contact with the valiant. Predestined to the highest ecclesiastical dignities, it was well for him to have before his eyes from his tender years the spectacle of the sacerdotal life in its excellence carried out to distinction. Wherefore God put in the way of this schoolboy, who to-morrow will be a Levite, two remnants of the old French clergy, M. Christine and M. Denis. Very venerable in the beginning of this century were the priests who passed without defection through the revolutionary crisis. Their fidelity to the faith had exposed them to martyrdom; all had to make the sacrifice of their security, their ease and their goods; many had known the hardships and bitternesses of an exile that the malevolence of their enemies identified with high treason against the nation. They came before the people purified and ennobled by suffering endured for a great cause with an aureole on their brows. And then they retained from their early ecclesiastical education, received at an epoch when the clergy was the second power in the State, habits of dignity of demeanor and extreme self-respect which had nothing in common with the free-and-easiness of our modern manners. Perhaps they might have combined with their majestic gravity a little more of evangelical simplicity, and, without derogation, rendered themselves more accessible to the humble and lowly; they would have exercised a larger influence upon our democratic age. I grant it, man is not perfect; it is difficult for him to strike the happy medium. It is none the less true that intimate association with them must have been very good for a young lad of the working classes whose destiny was to wear the purple and rule one of the greatest dioceses in the world."

The Abbé Donneau, one of the dispersed Canons Regular of the Blessed Trinity, admitted him and two cousins to a class of thirty pupils whom he prepared for the seminary, having often observed him in church and being much struck by his great piety, reflective character and love of study. We have it on his own authority that he was self-taught, as all who early learn to use their powers of observation and reflection are. "I educated myself," he said. "M. Donneau only taught us grammar; but he had a very fine library, which we went through eagerly, my cousin Mitre and I. We thus formed ourselves. When I was from fourteen to fifteen, I went with my classic authors to the cemetery of St. John on Poor Hill, near Aix, and studied alone." He also made good use of the library of his maternal granduncle, the Abbé Allies, professor at the *petit seminaire*. His biographer ascribes to this method of self-education his independence and powerful originality. It did not beget in him, as it does in persons of inferior mentality, that self-assertive self-sufficiency and those angularities which contact of mind with mind improves away; neither did it make him unsociable, though it bred in him a love of retirement. "He never," says M. Follenay, "had the morose piety and sullen asceticism which emanate from pride and foolishness, sometimes from both. Even in his old age the joyful rays of the Provençal sun did not cease to shine in the inner cloister of his soul." In 1819 he left M. Donneau to enter the Grand Seminary of Aix, "one of the most ecclesiastical souls our age has known."

Feeling a strong attraction towards a wider apostolate, he first thought of offering himself for the foreign missions. He was in a state of uncertainty as to which order or congregation he would join, when the striking success of the Abbé de Mazenod and his first companions at the Cathedral of Aix fixed his resolution. In the Missioners of Provence, as the Oblates of Mary Immaculate were first called, he found near at hand what satisfied his apostolic aspirations, an active missionary life, intermediary between the free life of the secular priest and the evangelization of distant lands. Father Marcou, one of the small group of zealous priests who joined De Mazenod in his local apostolate in Provence, wrote him glowing descriptions of the missionary campaign they were carrying on, of the happiness they enjoyed in their community, of the spirit of their institute; how they were all intent on attaining to the perfection of the religious life, laboring with one heart and one mind for the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls. During the first years of the Restoration there was a great religious movement in France, upon which high hopes were founded, popular missions leading the way. At Aix in particular they did great good and made a great stir, although they encountered some opposition from old conservative canons who did not relish their new style of preaching. Clinging to the traditions of the past, they did not see why the Church should not move in the same grooves after as before the Revolution, failing to perceive that the old order had changed, giving place to a new one; that the Church was face to face with a new generation, and that new methods should be adopted to reach the masses of the people, too long neglected.

At the beginning of 1823 Guibert left the seminary to enter the house of the Missioners of Provence as a simple postulant before his admission to the novitiate on January 23. It was a derelict Carmeliate convent suppressed during the Revolution. They gave him a little cell on the ground floor, ill-lighted and very poor, like all those occupied by the spiritual daughters of St. Teresa. The founder of the Oblates was wont to invoke the memory of the Carmelites and place himself and his brethren under the patronage of those who had inhabited and were buried in the house where his congregation had found its first shelter. He made it a rule for the whole community, on every recurring All Souls' Day, to go in a body and pronounce an absolution over the graves of those holy nuns; and under certain circumstances to recite prayers in honor of St. Teresa, regarded as protectress of his work. Cardinal Guibert's biographer notes as a strange turn of events that his piety was born upon tombs, those of the Knights of Malta, and that his religious life expanded upon other tombs, those of members of an order which, like the former, had been swept away by the revolutionary storm, the Carmelite tombs.

During his novitiate he underwent interior trials which tested the strength of his vocation, but after the ordeal he gave himself up wholly to the service of God without any further trouble of mind.

When Guibert was pursuing his philosophical and theological studies the influence of Félicité de Lamennais was in the ascendant. The brilliant author of the "Essay on Indifference," then regarded as quite orthodox and in the plenitude of his intellectual vigor, was drawing to his side many of the most gifted of the French ecclesiastics, who looked up to him as a new Father of the Church and the originator of a new school of apologetics. This was before the suspension of the *Avenir* and the appeal to Rome. No one as yet discerned in De Lamennais a modern Tertullian; the luminary that rose so rapidly to its zenith had not yet fallen as rapidly below the horizon like a falling star—a fall precipitated, like that of Lucifer, by pride, pride of intellect, the most baneful of all. He was still the formidable opponent of Gallicanism and the exalter of that Pontifical authority he was afterwards to scout. The young Oblates at Aix were easily drawn into the current of opinion which swept over the Church of France, awakening to new life. Guibert, like many others, thought the future of religion was intimately bound up with the success of the Lamennasian propaganda. To the last he was faithful to the sympathies of his youth. "We have heard him ourself," writes M. de Follenay, "speak with emotion of the *école mennaisenne* and of the promises it had given to the Church; we have seen him read with the greatest interest the biographies of his chief adherents. He then heaved a great sigh, declaring it very sad that things had ended so badly. This fidelity of the memory does not belong to a common mind; it is touching. We have been told that when younger he somewhat passionately defended the opinions of that school, and that in a house of which he was superior he refused to let the work of Père Rosaven against Monsignor Gerbet be placed on the library shelves."

He came under safer influence and sounder teaching when the saintly Don Carlo Albini, henceforward known as Père Albini, joined the Oblates at Aix in July, 1824. He was truly a gift of God to the nascent congregation. Imbued with the spirit of Liguori, whose mild theology now prevails, he imparted it to the students, who not only had in him a model of holiness, whose very presence was a teaching, but a learned professor, when he was entrusted with the office of training them in moral theology. Young Guibert, who, like De Mazenod, was happily free from the Jansenistic and Gallican influences which still dominated the greater portion of the French clergy, was an apt pupil and thoroughly assimilated the ideas of the master. "I leave Don Albini's class," he wrote, "with my head full of Italian ideas." By "Italian" is to be understood Roman ideas, as distinguished from Gallican—wider, more tolerant, more reasonable; in a word, more Catholic. Later, as missioner and teacher himself, he became the champion and propagator of those ideas. The Oblates not only adopted the doctrines of St. Liguori, but invoked him as the patron of their school and dedicated a chapel to him in their church, until devotion to the founder of the Redemptorists became one of the favorite devotions of the Missioners of Provence.

Guibert was a born student; study was in him an instinct, a passion. He loved knowledge, not as an end merely, but as a means to an end; not to solely gratify intellectual curiosity, but to subserve the interests of the Church. He was all his life a great reader, a lover of books, and, as his letters and other writings testify, possessed the literary gift in a high degree. He only relaxed his interest in them when the higher interests of his diocese, of the Church and of France claimed and absorbed all his attention, all his activity.

Nimes, where a new foundation was being made, and to which he was sent along with two other Oblates in May, 1825, was the first sphere of his missionary labors. It was the memorable year of the great jubilee. Like Monsignor Taché, who was sent to the Red River settlement in Canada when only a boy-novice, Guibert was only a deacon of twenty-three when he was sent into the mission field. He threw himself heart and soul into the work, which was only interrupted in obedience to a call to the priesthood, Monsignor de Mazenod having to get a dispensation from Rome for his ordination. Though young in years, he was old in spiritual knowledge and was already looked up to as something of a sage. It is not years that always brings the philosophic mind; there are those whose intellectual development keeping pace with their spiritual growth anticipates the wisdom that usually accompanies maturity.

Ordained on August 14, 1825, in the episcopal chapel at Marseilles by Monsignor de Mazenod, who liked to impose hands on all his subjects whenever possible, he said his first Mass the next morning in the Calvary chapel.

The success which crowned the labors of the Oblate missioners, their sermons, the conversions they made and the growing influence they acquired among all classes inflamed the anger of the Protestants at Nimes, where the *odium theologicum* was then very rampant, accentuated by political hostilities. It was almost as bad as Belfast on July 12, when memories of the Boyne fan into a flame the smouldering bigotry of the Orangemen. Songs were sung under their windows, in which expression was given to a pious wish to hang them up to the next lamppost. "But, thank God," wrote Père Guibert, "up to this we have been only hanged in song; that doesn't do us any great harm or even prevent us from sleeping soundly as we have always done. For several nights we have gone to rest, without knowing it, under guard of a thousand Catholics who keep watch around our house; it is their zeal and attachment to us which lent some importance to the thing. These kind of persecutions, which do much harm to the Church, do good to those who are their particular object. One puts himself in a disposition in which he would wish to be if danger was near and real; one makes in spirit the sacrifice of his life to God, and the soul is fortified and prepared for more real dangers. For my part, I am glad to be here on this fortunate occasion."

The fruits of the retreats to men given at Nimes established the reputation of the Provençal religious, who were mistaken for Jesuits, which they esteemed an honor. But they were only first fruits; as time went on, and the sphere of their missionary labors was enlarged, they were to reap a vast harvest of souls, not only in France, but in two hemispheres. Six months after the Nimes foundation was made invitations to give missions poured in upon them. Enforced rest, imposed by overstrain, was the only interruption to the many missions in which Père Guibert took part.

He had also his share in the work of the renovation of the French sanctuaries of Our Lady and the revival of pilgrimages thereto, which the Oblates undertook and which was fittingly entrusted to an order specially devoted to the Blessed Virgin. Notre Dame-du-Laus, or Our Lady of the Lake, was the shrine to which he was sent in 1828 as rector and superior of the missioners, who also did parochial duty there. It is situate in a remote mountainous region "far from the madding crowd," the church and residence of the missioners, being green-walled by the surrounding mountains, forming a natural enclosure. Its origin dates from an apparition of the Blessed Virgin in the seventeenth century to a little peasant girl named Benoite Rencurel, who, like Bernardette Soubirous in the last century, was instrumental in bringing about the accomplishment of Our Lady's wishes in the erection of a large church, with a house for some resident priests. Many sinners, she was told, would be converted there. Miracles, verified by investigation, were wrought and pilgrimages multiplied, so that in the second year Laus was visited by 30,000 persons, who came from the south of France and north of Italy, wending their weary way along a difficult route across steep mountains, whole parishes going in procession preceded by their banners. This corner of the Alps was for a long time perpetually *en fete*.

In 1666 the church was built according to the instructions of the Blessed Virgin, except the belfry, the completion of which was reserved for Père Guibert. Sister Benoite, as she was called, this humble peasant girl who, taught by infused light, attained to a high degree of religious and ascetical knowledge—astonishing theologians by her proficiency in the science of the spiritual life—was only nineteen when this marvelous work was finished.

The great Revolution, in its devastating course, had put an end to the pilgrimages. The church and priests' house were sold to the Abbé Reymond, curé of Tallard. In 1818 it was proposed to establish there a house of retreat for aged and infirm priests, but Monsignor de Miollis, Bishop of the diocese, decided to restore the pilgrimages. On September 20 of that year it was formally taken over by the Missioners of Provence.

Père Guibert's occupations at Laus were multifarious. He acted as curé, or parish priest, as well as an active missioner, giving missions in town and country. The dominant thought in the mind of the foundress of the sanctuary was one of inspiring penitence. Many persons went and still go there to make novenas and general confessions. As many as thirty parishes at a time would combine in a joint pilgrimage, headed by their curés, particularly at Pentecost, Corpus Christi and on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin. All this imposed great labor on the few priests. Guibert on his arrival had at once to go into the confessional, in which he passed the whole of the first two days. "I reached Notre Dame du Laus," he wrote, "at a favorable time to enjoy all the pious sentiments that this sanctuary inspires. Independently of the traditions, one is sensible of the supernatural in the establishment of this devotion. The concourse of the faithful has been very considerable, and we have been obliged to accommodate them in the church during the night. I could never tire of seeing these good pilgrims coming down the mountain ravines everywhere and converging at a given point to perform their devotions to Our Lady. The diversity and singularity of their costumes is quite charming; even in their shrill voices there is harmony; sonorous and melodious voices would be out of harmony with the place. I am so delighted with this sojourn that I would like with all my heart to be able to say: *Hæc requies mea, hic habitabo*."

Notre Dame du Laus, however, was not to be a place of rest, but of trial to him. Many abuses and laxities had crept in; rules were discarded; pious practices had fallen into disuse. Père Guibert was too thorough a religious to tolerate such a state of things. He had been sent to restore order and he resolved to do so. It was an arduous undertaking, rendered more so by the fact that he was junior in years to a colleague who did not share his views. Hence divided counsels, opposition and the cross. Another cross he had to carry was a divergence of theological principles and disciplinary practice which brought him into conflict with Monsignor Miollis, Bishop of Digne, and Monsignor Arbaud, Bishop of Gap. The province was one that was most troubled by the invasion of Jansenism, and, although after the Revolution the new opinions on grace had been sincerely abandoned by the clergy, their after effects were felt in the severity which characterized the interpretation and application of moral theology and a very pronounced Gallicanism. A quite unnecessary number of reserved cases were withheld from the jurisdiction of confessors; penitents had to go several times to confession before they could receive absolution, and they were practically deprived of their legitimate freedom of choice in selecting confessors. Many who would willingly be converted and reconciled gave it up through dread of the conditions that would be imposed on them; others, in larger numbers, no longer approached the sacraments and fell into indifferentism; while among others, whom human respect or other reasons compelled for appearance sake to be outwardly observant, some cloaked their timidity with sacrilege. This seriously impaired the influence and paralyzed the action of missioners. At a country parish in the Diocese of Digne when the official notification of the limitations imposed upon confessors, sent from the Bishop's house in a sealed packet, was read to Père Guibert, regarding these restrictions as humiliating to the missioners, embarrassing to their ministry and discouraging to penitents, he at once rose and addressing the curé who was his host said: "Please, monsieur le curé, let our horses be saddled; we are going. It is impossible for us to give a mission under these conditions; we haven't come into your parish to hear and absolve the devout; since they refuse us sinners, we are going!" Accompanied by the *vicaire* or curate he rode all night and early next morning reached the residence of the Bishop, only to receive from that prelate a formal refusal to alter his mandate. *"Quod scripsi, scripsi"* was the curt response. A vicar general, however, whom he met on his return, recognizing that the wish of the missioners was very reasonable, accorded them the fullest faculties. "We are every moment grieved by sinners whose confessions we have heard," he wrote to Monsignor de Mazenod, "and who come with tears in their eyes to ask from us an absolution we cannot give them, because they do not belong to this parish. This good Bishop, with the best intentions, gives the devil cause for much laughter." After the close of the mission he wrote: "I was longing to get out of this place whence common sense is exiled still more than from certain other countries. You cannot think how much the interdict of the Bishop of Digne oppressed me. I could take no interest in the mission, although it did much good. One could only count one solitary man in the parish who let the grace pass without profiting by it. St. Paul said: '*Gratia Dei mecum.*' We may say this time: '*Gratia Dei sine nobis.*'"

Père Guibert was in the second year of his sojourn at Laus when "the three glorious days" in July, 1830, put an end to the Restoration or the reign of the elder branch of the Bourbons, which had to yield place and power to "the citizen monarchy" of Louis Philippe. It was a movement directed as much against religion as against the dynasty of Charles X., as the sacking of the palace of the Archbishop of Paris testified. It appeared to involve the existence of the Oblates, who anxiously debated the question whether their missionary work would be possible under the new government.

It had been openly and strongly supported by the fallen monarchy. The missioners were prepared to endure courageously any suffering. The superior, above all, gave a grand example of calmness and firmness. "Quite young," says his biographer, "he already possessed in its plenitude that virility of soul, that civic valor, which was one of the finest features of his character and later gained for him the admiration of his contemporaries." The situation was very grave. In the Upper Alps, not far from the frontier, a foreign invasion, it was feared, would follow civil war. "However it may be," wrote Guibert, "we are ready for everything. What is one combat more in a war of eighteen centuries, and what has one to dread when, in order to conquer, it suffices to die? I willingly call to mind those words of a writer I much esteem: "I hope to be the last at my post and not to leave it except in the extremity.' It seems to me that like those who showed so much courage during the other revolution, we should not abandon the Catholics until our ministry shall be quite useless to them." Writing under date of September 5, 1830, he says: "The concourse has much diminished here. The Catholics are downhearted. They wanted to crucify the curé of Thuis; it had been a grand death. You see that the tempest is approaching us." Priests were obliged to put off their clerical costume; many curés had to leave their parishes; four or five priests who were dining together ran a risk of being killed by the National Guard, who accused them of conspiring against the State. Père Guibert attributed to the particular protection of the Blessed Virgin the tranquillity they enjoyed at Laus, where they expected to be the first victims. It did not last long. A missioner inadvertently dropped one or two letters he had received from Père Dupuis dated from Nice. Although they were very insignificant, some malevolent persons into whose hands they fell spread a rumor that they contained plots against the Government. For a whole week it was the subject of conversation in Gap and its neighborhood. The secretary of the prefecture, in the absence of the prefect, caused a search to be made for the letters, got a copy of them, read them and found that they contained nothing compromising. As, however, the rumor might have disastrous consequences for the mission, to efface any injurious impressions, 200 copies of an explanatory letter signed by Père Guibert were printed and circulated. Great uneasiness prevailed at Aix on their account. It was feared that these poor priests, strangers in that part of the country, isolated in the mountains, attention drawn to them by the very signal success of their missions, would easily fall a prey to popular passions. Guibert's parents sent him secular clothes to facilitate his escape. In thanking them he said: "I am quite decided to remain at my post as long as prudence does not compel me to leave it. If that should occur, I cannot tell you at this moment what part I should take; but I hope it will be always that which the interests of religion, honor and prudence will command."

The conduct of the Oblates during the cholera epidemic, which subsequently ravaged the Upper Alpine regions, regained the sympathies of the people and the good will of a power which was more distrustful of than hostile to religious institutions. When all hearts were frozen with fear, when all who could deserted the country, when none were left to tend the sick, Père Guibert placed himself and his religious at the disposal of the prefect, ready to fulfill anywhere the functions of infirmarians under the doctors' direction. The prefect's secretary, who, as well as chief, was deeply moved by their devotedness and zeal, in the course of his reply said: "In devoting yourself to the succor of those whom the cholera may attack, you do not attach to your pious determination any condition of time, person or place, but only that where the greatest dangers are to be run. There, sir, are the characteristics by which Christian charity exercises its empire over generous hearts."

The revolution of 1830, though it did not efface, rendered more difficult the work of the missioners. Missions were no longer in vogue as they had been; they were no longer encouraged by the civil power; it was feared that the adherents of the old régime would use them in some way as a means of reaction against the new government. In addition to this, the Bishop of Gap, Monsignor Arbaud, who at first was well disposed towards the fathers of Notre Dame du Laus, now displayed towards them a coldness, the expression of a divergence of theological opinions, he being Gallican, while they were, as they have always been, ultramontane. Monsignor Arbaud had vigorously assailed the doctrines of De Lamennais, later condemned by Gregory XVI. in the Encyclical of August 15, 1832, while, as has been noted, the Oblates rather favored them before they had become heterodox. The reputation of the latter for perfect orthodoxy suffered in consequence, though no one could be more Catholic and Roman than De Mazenod, whose spirit and teachings were faithfully reproduced by his missioners, and by none more than Guibert. There were strained relations, therefore, between the rector of Notre Dame du Laus and Monsignor Arbaud, a learned and pious prelate, whose good qualities he esteemed, but who was unbending in his Gallican rigorism.

Hampered in the exercise of his ministry by the hostility of the Gallican Bishops and the disfavor which popular preaching had to contend against on the morrow of the revolution, Père Guibert again turned his attention to foreign missions, for which he early experienced an attraction. At this time the congregation was founding its first establishments in America. "His imagination and his heart," says M. de Follenay, "often turned in this direction. He put it to himself if it would not be wise and generous to leave old countries which had become inhospitable to carry the Gospel light to a young nation where our narrow prejudices wrought no ravages. There at least he would not stumble against the barrier of Gallican rigorism. The American spirit, energetic, ardent and enterprising, charmed and allured him. It seemed to him that the future reserved what it promised of best for those immense and still virgin lands. Upon that point, moreover, as upon many others, his affections have been faithful and abiding. We have been told that the last words addressed by the dying Cardinal to the venerable M. Icard, superior general of the Company of St. Sulpice, was a warm recommendation in favor of the American establishments."

In a letter to Père de Mazenod in 1832 Père Guibert said: "If our African mission does not succeed, we entreat you, very reverend father, to think of those of Asia and America. It is a real necessity of the times: scope is needed for the zeal of a nascent congregation; repose would be fatal to us. America, by reason of its daily intercourse with France, is as near to us as Africa. I have read with pleasure that in the United States religions are free and that the Catholic religion is every day progressing rapidly. Ah! if one only saw a beginning of the execution of our project, you would see what enthusiasm there would be! No force in the world could any longer restrain it. Young priests are tired of the sterility of the ministry in France, and if they do not go to distant countries, it is because they lack the *point d'appui* our establishment would offer them." Encouraged by his superior, Père Guibert carried on a campaign on behalf of the American missions in the neighboring dioceses, crossing mountains and, to save expense, riding from church to church on a wretched nag. "All along the journey," he said, "I was dreaming of the poor American Indians, and was happy that God has inspired me with the thought of doing something for those abandoned souls." They were no longer abandoned when the same thought that moved Père Guibert stirred into action the burning zeal of his indefatigable brethren in religion, Taché, Grandin, Lacombe, Grollier and others who spent their lives in the Christianization and uplifting of those hitherto neglected races, the native Indians and half-breeds.

At a time when the French diocesan seminaries were, as he expressed it, "gorged with students," he wrote: "I have read that the Bishop of New York, after vainly seeking throughout the world for some missioners, returned to his diocese to establish there a seminary where he will try to form natives for the sacred ministry. What a shame for a clergy of 36,000 priests not to be able to give a single missioner to the Catholics of the United States! It is worthy of our society to efface this shame by responding to the destinies God has reserved for it in these latter times. Couldn't one offer to the Bishop of New York to found and direct the seminary he has projected? It would be our first foothold there, and one could expand in proportion as the circumstances and number of subjects would permit. When I set foot on the land of America, I can never leave that enchanted country."

The question of widening the sphere of their missionary enterprises and recruiting subjects for that purpose was one that always engrossed him. "I wish to work and to consume myself for the good of the society to which I have the honor to belong," he wrote to the founder. Even when he was young in religion, recruiting vocations was his constant preoccupation and special attraction. When he was giving a mission in Digne in 1828 his quick eye discerned in a boy of ten aptitudes for the religious state. After the mission was over he took him to Marseilles. Father de Mazenod, at the sight of his little companion, exclaimed with a good laugh: "Ah! Guibert, what is this you have brought us?" "It's a little missioner, father." "Well, then, you should have brought his nurse with him." This very juvenile subject eventually became the remarkable missioner Père Aubert, whose career is part of the early history of the congregation. The curé of Barcelonnette called Guibert "the recruiting captain." When he discovered a future subject he did not content himself with merely introducing him to his superiors, but his solicitude followed him everywhere. He looked more to the quality than the quantity of subjects.

He was keenly alive to the intellectual needs of the priesthood in our epoch to keep pace with the advance of scientific and literary culture, as they have to preach to a more enlightened and educated age. A priest who was simply a theologian seemed to him to live like a stranger among his contemporaries, incapable of understanding them or making himself understood; useless for the healing of their intellectual wounds. To a young religious who was turning his attention to scientific projects he wrote: "Yes, you are quite right; the priest, particularly nowadays, needs science: the world in the midst of which we are obliged to live only possesses a superficial science, it is true, but yet varied, and it is necessary that the priest should be foremost everywhere. Besides, the study of human sciences, pursued in a spirit of faith, brings us nearer to God. Is it not always the truth, eternal need of our souls, which is the object of all our researches, and what is the natural eagerness to know but the movement by which God Himself impels our minds towards Him? I know that it would be sweeter to enjoy the Divinity in prayer and meditation, but apart from the fact that culture of the intelligence is the expiation of a crime, it is necessary in order that we may bring the truth within reach of the sick minds of our epoch." Père de Mazenod likes to place his religious under the firm and enlightened direction of Père Guibert. Despite malevolent efforts which were made to impede his recruiting for the congregation, numerous fervent novices came to Laus from various parts of France and abroad.

In 1835 he had to leave Laus, withdrawn four years later from the Oblates, to undertake the foundation and direction of a seminary in Corsica. He had gathered around him in his mountain retreat zealous, well-informed priests who, in accordance with the desires of the Blessed Virgin, communicated to Sister Benoite, formed a hospitable community, ever ready to dispense the benefits of divine mercy to those who came there to make novenas. Laus had become what it had been before the Revolution, when it was a dependency of the archdeaconry of Embrun, a guesthouse open to all the spiritual infirmities of the country, according to the words of Our Lady to the peasant girl: "The proof that I abide in this place and that I wish to be honored here, is that sinners will here be converted." The power of the Immaculata made itself sensibly manifest, many ex-votos placed in the sanctuary recording as many miraculous cures. Père Guibert loved Laus; he often, later on, returned to it; it was his favorite retreat during his sojourn in Corsica. "I am myself again in this delightful solitude," he said, "and I am not here, as formerly, burdened with a thousand affairs, but free, able to enjoy at leisure the peace, silence and all that is heavenly in this sanctuary. How willingly one would spend his whole life in this holy place!" When the superior general selected him, as the only one in the society possessing all the qualifications that fitted him to make the foundation in Corsica, what induced him to interpose no obstacles was the hope held out to him of going back to Laus. "I was happy beyond expression in my present position," he wrote to Père de Mazenod. "I would have wished to hide all my life in this sanctuary, where the presence of the Blessed Virgin is so sensibly felt, but I willingly accept the hope you give me of a return to this holy isle. But before all the good of souls and of the society!"

It was the great reforming work he did in Corsica that marked him out for the episcopate. He had to evolve order out of an ecclesiastical chaos. The island, from a moral viewpoint, was an unweeded garden; its condition was deplorable. Guibert had, to start with, to establish a seminary and form a new body of clergy. The education of the younger clergy had been most rudimentary and superficial. After a few lessons in Latin and sometimes in philosophy from the parish priest, the aspirant to the priesthood went to Ajaccio, Bastia or Calvi to get a slight tincture of sacred science. What was called a course of theology was oral instruction in casuistry, the students being free to attend or absent themselves from the lectures, after which they went home to forget, amid the distractions of secular life, most of what they had been taught. The student was his own master in dogmatic, the diocesan catechism being his only classic author! The examination they underwent just before ordination involved the translation of a page of the "Catechism of the Council of Trent" or a canonical epistle, coupled with the solution of a case of conscience and a question on the diocesan catechism. A certificate of good conduct from the curé was the only credential required to guarantee the vocation and fitness of the *ordinandi*, upon whom the Bishop then imposed hands. The soutane was almost everywhere discarded, even at the altar, while the tonsure had fallen into similar disuse. The newly nominated Bishop, Monsignor Casanelli, a zealous prelate who had been one of the most brilliant students in the Roman University, habituated by a sojourn of several years on the Continent to the spectacle of a clergy regularly formed in the great French seminaries, resolved from the start to establish in his diocese an institution deemed by the Council of Trent the most necessary and effective means of restoring ecclesiastical discipline and fostering the growth of sacerdotal virtues. To realize his design he appealed to Monsignor de Mazenod to send him a priest to preside over his projected seminary. The choice fell upon Père Guibert, to whom his superior wrote: "A vast horizon is opening before us; we are perhaps called to regenerate the clergy and the whole population of Corsica." Considering the few subjects he then possessed, it was a bold undertaking to which De Mazenod put his hand, but it was characteristic of him not to be dismayed by the magnitude of a work or any difficulties and obstacles. So he wrote to the Bishop: "I shall send you as superior the most distinguished priest in our part of the country, both by his deep piety, the extent of his knowledge and the polish of his cultivated mind." Monsignor Casanelli, who was in Rome, showed the letter to the Pope, who took the liveliest interest in the project and was touched by De Mazenod's apostolic zeal, blessing the beginning of a great work to which the founder of the Oblates and the future Archbishop powerfully contributed.

In March, 1835, Père Guibert set sail for Corsica in company with the Bishop. For the first time the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, in his person, quitted the French continent and preluded, in a way, the work of distant missions which some years later became their most important, most glorious and most fruitful ministry. A social as well as religious work lay before them in Corsica. The island, long devastated by wars, was only half-civilized. The vendetta, the wild justice of revenge, was the unwritten, traditional law of the country, where bandits ruled supreme, having on their side the sympathies of the populace, who protected them and gloried in their exploits, the very police, who were powerless to suppress them, being often in league with these daring outlaws. But wild and untamed as the people were, they were brave, energetic and faithful to one another. Heaven left some remnant of the angel in them; beneath this rough exterior there lay hidden a religious sense, a good seed choked by weeds, "The Corsican," said Monsignor Casanelli, "is too proud to yield to violence; he has faith enough to submit to the influence of his priests." This gave him a leverage to work upon in his grand scheme of social and ecclesiastical reform. Native born, he knew his people, their evil habits, their undeveloped goodness, their vices and their virtues. It has been said that such as the priests are, so will the people be. He grasped the situation like a sound churchman, a clear-sighted statesman and an ardent patriot. "I shall have to struggle almost alone," he told the Abbé Sarrebayrouse, "without resources; but my way is mapped out; I shall follow it; it is the right line; my duty is not to deviate from it." Before he put his reforming hand to things he said: "Alas! I do not lack priests, but I have no clergy." In his old age, before he passed away—he died in 1869—after years of strenuous labor not unmixed with danger[3] he had at his command a fine body of well-trained, zealous clergy, the creation of his apostolic zeal. Père Guibert was his equally zealous coöperator, his firm right hand in the accomplishment of this great achievement. Everything had to be done *de novo*; he had not only to build from the foundation, but he had to lay the foundation whereon to build. He succeeded, despite many obstacles, many difficulties, in establishing two seminaries, a grand seminary and a petty seminary, subsequently provisionally merged under one superior when his missionary work and incessant activities prevented him giving his constant personal attention to the latter. In addition he founded a missionary residence at Vico, from whence missioners were sent out to awaken into new life the dormant faith of the people. In the beginning pecuniary resources were wanting. He had to make long journeys on horseback, because there was no diligence service, covering 135 miles in three days without sleeping, as he could not get a bed anywhere, and had nothing to eat but a few eggs. Despite police vigilance, the roads were not safe, and he was often stopped by brigands who lived ambushed in the thickets. A bandit in his time shot a priest dead while celebrating Mass and was allowed to leisurely traverse the country in the midst of an impassive population.

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[3] His resolute rejection of undesirable or unsuitable seminarists raised such family feuds that his life at times was in danger. They had to assign to his protection a brave gendarme, who accompanied him on his journeys and at night rested outside the door of his room.

Only thirty-three, he had the difficult duty imposed upon him of reforming a whole body of clergy, most of whom were old priests. His comparative youth was a serious obstacle to the success of such an undertaking. Churchmen do not like innovations, particularly when they are white-haired. Then as to the people, matters were worse. "My God!" he writes, "the state of this poor people is well calculated to move the zeal of apostolic men. They are ignorant of the first principles of religion, and when one announces the Word of God one runs a great risk of not being understood, through the lack of those primary notions one presupposes in the hearers in a public discourse. Our sacred ceremonies are regarded with indifference and often with contempt. Hardly a certain number of persons go to Mass on Sundays; Vespers are only frequented by the clergy and a few black-robed women, full of superstition, called *béguines*. How could it be otherwise among the people, when the priests themselves are without faith and only value holy things for what money they can bring them? Up to this they face our censure with silent submission; it will be necessary to take many precautions, for they are incredibly touchy. . . . To make up for this the priests about Monseigneur are very edifying; the Bishop has really the spirit of God and cannot fail to do good to his diocese." Of the young seminarists who came to them first, he says: "The young fellows are so new, such strangers I don't say to piety, but to the simple practices of Christianity, we have to teach them to make the sign of the Cross! With regard to studies they are not much better. It must, however, be admitted that there is stuff, as they say. They are generally docile, but we must explain everything to them." They were coarse and ignorant. Of the youth who came to him from the interior he says: *"C'est une vraie matière brute brute qu'il faut façonner."*

A grand seminary at Ajaccio had long been projected, but it only existed in theory and not in reality until Guibert came. Augustin Spinola, elected Bishop on March 30, 1716, thought of giving visible prominence to the idea of a seminary entertained by his predecessor, Pietro Spinola, a Genoese Franciscan of the Strict Observance, who had got so far as to lay the first stone on February 23, 1710, but the work was carried on no farther, as funds were wanting. Augustin Spinola built it near the sea with stones from the old city ramparts. An inscription incrusted in the walls upon a marble slab informs us that the edifice had been placed under the invocation of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin 150 years before the definition of the dogma. Franciscan convents were then numerous in Corsica, and the friars of the Franciscan Order, it is well known, were among the earliest champions of the unique prerogative of the Virgin Mother. Père Guibert, when he saw the slab, regarded it as a providential indication that his religious brethren, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, were destined to have the direction of the seminary. The old seminary building had been alternately an episcopal palace, a barrack, a court of appeal, a municipal library and the official residence of the prefect. Towards 1795, during the British occupation, a statue of Our Lady Immaculate, which the piety of former Bishops had caused to be erected in this house, was left in the dust like lumber in the midst of the incongruous surroundings of a barrack until North, the secretary of Elliot, the Governor, at the request of the chapter and the Irish officers, had it transferred to the Cathedral, where it now is.

Both Monsignor Spinola and Père Guibert were inflexible in rejecting any candidates for the ministry whose vocations were not inspired by supernatural motives, the Bishop setting his face as hard as flint against the admission of any where family or material interests were the underlying motives. This procedure, in sharp contrast to the laxity that previously prevailed, produced a profound and salutary impression. The expulsion of a student belonging to one of the best families created an indescribable sensation; in the memory of man they had never heard it said to any one: "You are not called to the priesthood." Sometimes the irritation felt by the relatives of the rejected candidates imperiled Père Guibert's life, as when his own physician, whose brother he had rejected, when called in administered volleys of abuse instead of medicine, and in place of using the lancet threatened to use a stiletto in true Corsican fashion, while the brother of a student, the nephew of a curé, who had been sent away on account of incapacity, wanted to shoot him.

He not only drew the attention of the French episcopate and all generous Catholics to the religious needs of Corsica, particularly the need of a well-equipped clergy, in a printed document widely circulated, but occasionally went to Paris and interested royalty and ministers in his work of reform, getting a Government subsidy or grant in aid for the new seminary. Better than all, he procured the invaluable coöperation of the saintly Oblate, Father Albini, who aimed to make it a model seminary, and who, not so much by his teaching as professor of theology as by his personal holiness, his missions and his miracles, which gained him the name of the modern Apostle of Corsica,[4] became a powerful auxiliary in the moral regeneration of the whole island. "It is a real marvel; the finger of God is there," wrote Guibert. Old men blessed and praised God that they had lived to see such an admirable, such a wonderful change before they died. "One pauses astounded as before a gigantic work," says M. de Follenay. "Founder, seminary superior, builder, ecclesiastical administrator, preacher, he undertakes everything, and nowhere shows himself unequal to his task. On the contrary, he succeeds in what he undertakes, and the success he obtains is not a fleeting success, an ephemeral recompense accorded to his zeal; it is an enduring success which insures the future as it sheds lustre on the present. All the works of that epoch subsist. . . . Nothing is changed; the missioners of Vico are still the apostles of Corsica."

At Vico, where the missionary residence was fixed, they were again treading in the footprints of the earlier Franciscan missioners. The convent of which the Oblates got possession, perched on a height, backed by the Cuma Mountain and looking towards the snowy summits of Rotondo, had been built by Franciscan Recollects, who had then most of the Corsican monasteries. Its foundation dates from the pontificate of Sixtus IV. (1471-1484). The monastery annals record its restoration in 1627. In the church there is a large miraculous Crucifix, much venerated by the people, while under its flagged flooring repose many Franciscan religious and distinguished personages, nigh whom rests the saintly Oblate who during his all-too-brief apostolate was the wonder-worker of Corsica. Père Guibert worked hard in adapting this convent to the requirements of a mission house. "Pity me, father," he wrote to Monsignor de Mazenod; "I am leading the life of a mason rather than the life of a priest. When shall I be able to lay aside stones and mortar and get back to my books and collect my thoughts?" Father Albini, a learned theologian, an eminently holy priest and a zealous missioner, was the superior of this house. The good he wrought was not interred with his bones; it survives like his memory, which is still a living force, particularly among the faithful Corsican mountaineers, who in their recollections of him always couple his name with that of Père Guibert. There are few houses in Corsica, we are told, that do not contain his image, before which novenas are made to obtain spiritual and temporal favors. Whatever relics the people could procure, such as portions of the mission cross he erected, are carefully and reverently preserved. They speak of him as *il beato padre Albini.* Père Guibert said he was the holiest man he ever knew.

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[4] The cause of his beatification is at present before the Apostolic Tribunal in Rome.

It was not merely as the reformer of the diocesan clergy, as the founder and organizer of seminaries and as director of missions that Père Guibert shone. He showed himself a skillful and tactful diplomatist when the relations between the founder of the Oblates and the French Government became painfully strained. By his judicious intervention he succeeded in releasing him from a very difficult position and reconciling him with the new régime. His uncle, Monsignor Fortuné de Mazenod, Bishop of Marseilles, to whom he was vicar general, had at first refused to take the oath of fidelity to the July government, and only yielded at the pressing instance of the Pope. Both were very warm partisans of the doctrines and person of M. de Lamennais, who was strongly opposed to the new power. The municipality of the city was very hostile to the founder of the Congregation of Mary Immaculate, who firmly refused to remove a mission cross, the sight of which was displeasing to those who called themselves "liberals," and despite them maintained the procession of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. They had voted the suppression of the episcopal see; only tolerated the retention of it by the aged Bishop until his death, which could not be far off, should take place, and required that he should have no successor. Monsignor Fortuné de Mazenod postulated the Holy See for the elevation of his nephew to the episcopate with a view of resigning in his favor, a plan of which Gregory XVI. approved, nominating Père de Mazenod Bishop of Icosia, *in partibus infidelium,* with the title of Apostolic Visitor of Tunis and Tripoli. The Minister of Public Worship declared him deprived of the title of vicar general, with interdiction of every ecclesiastical function in the kingdom for having received episcopal consecration without the approbation of the French Government. "Singular legislation!" observed Monsignor de Mazenod. "I might become a Mussulman without an offense against the laws of my country, but I cannot be a Bishop!" The Pope suggested his making an inspection of the Barbary Coast as Apostolic Visitor, but he would not avail of this politic concession, which would have been very agreeable to the French Government, but would have compromised his congregation by making its superior general appear like a rebel. On August 12, 1834, a Prefectorial decree notified him that he was deprived of the quality and rights of a French citizen. He at once appealed to the royal court of Aix and protested in a letter addressed to the French Bishops, a proceeding which was considered in Paris an act of rebellion. Monsignor Casanelli, then in Rome, where he had great influence, took in hand the defense of his friend, and elicited from Gregory XVI. this significant expression of opinion: "He has done very well, and in his place I would not have acted otherwise." The crisis had reached its acutest stage, and the Government was actually deliberating on having the Bishop of Icosia sent across the frontier accompanied by a gendarme charged with his expulsion from France, when Père Guibert, as the issue of a series of delicate and difficult negotiations with the King and his Ministers, brought about the reconciliation of the Bishop with the Government and his authorization to bear the title of Bishop of Icosia. In January, 1836 Monsignor de Mazenod went with him to Paris and took the oath of allegiance, when he was graciously received by Louis Philippe. The next year Monsignor Fortuné de Mazenod resigned, and his nephew was nominated to the See of Marseilles. Père Guibert, who in this affair not only rendered a personal service to his superior, but a signal service to the Oblate Congregation and to the Church, was *persona gratissima* at court and cordially greeted by the King, to whom the French Ambassador, the Marquis de la Tour-Maubourg, said: "I met at Ajaccio a seminary superior who is a very capable priest, the Abbé Guibert; he should be made a Bishop." Monsignor Casanelli in 1837 proposed him for the Bishopric of Gap. But the providential time had not yet come. The next year he was in Rome, where his work in Corsica was well known. "It was on Monday evening," he wrote to the superior, "I had the happiness of being received by the Holy Father with that kindliness with which every one is acquainted. He absolutely would not let me remain on my knees a single instant. His Holiness asked me many particulars about Ajaccio. He was charmed with all that is being done there, and, above all, that they are done in part by our congregation."

The "sights" of Rome, the historical ruins which vividly recall the vanished past of that "lone mother of dead empires," had no attractions for him unless they were associated with religion. "What to me," he writes, "are the trunks of columns or the remains of the amphitheatre of pagan Rome unless they are dyed with the blood of martyrs, and these famous obelisks unless they are surmounted by the statue of St. Peter or St. Paul? I have seen, *en passant,* the beautiful and rich Church of the Annunziata at Genoa; my time was too short to visit the three magnificent monuments in Pisa, placed triangularly in an immense square. To receive the sacrament of regeneration in this baptistry, unique in the world, to be fed with the bread of the Word and of Communion in this superb temple, to rest in this Campo Santo, in earth brought from Jerusalem by the Crusaders, was the sublime ideal of religion; and what must have been those men who conceived and realized it! I thought I had exhausted my admiration on the way, and when I have seen St. Peter's all the rest appeared very little to me, like the stream compared to the ocean. After praying at the tomb of the holy Apostles, I would not have felt the least pang in resuming my journey without seeing anything else."

Religious seclusion was what he looked forward to, not elevation to the episcopate. In the midst of his active work and frequent journeys he writes: "I feel an insatiable need of repose and study." The superior general at one time thought of recalling him from Corsica in order to have him as assistant or confiding to him the direction of the novitiate, for which he was admirably fitted. In this, as in other things, he subordinated his own wishes to those of the founder. "All I can understand," he replied, "is that it concerns the good of the congregation. That is enough for me. The desire of seeing it prosper has been the passion of my whole life." "Père Guibert," observes his biographer, "was a religious to the inmost fibres of his soul. Behind the will of his superiors he saw that of God. It is this sweet vision, fruit of the purest spirit of faith, which sustained and consoled him amid the trials inherent to his laborious ministry." To Monsignor de Mazenod his faithful disciple wrote: "You see, my beloved father, that trials are not wanting to us in this country. I hope they are the measure of the love God has for us. I say to Him a hundred times a day, and it is all that I can say: '*Non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu!*' I say this to you with the more simplicity that I feel myself in the disposition to go or to remain, to die or to live, only attaching any value to one thing, that the last act of my life may be an act of obedience." A celebrated French writer who described his career when he was Archbishop of Paris, said: *"C'est un moine."* The term was not inappropriate. He was interpenetrated with the monastic or religious spirit, a cenobite to the finger tips. The Church's greatest men have come out of the cloister, and he was one of them. "It is because he was a holy religious," says M. de

Follenay, "that he has been a great Bishop. He ascended the steps of the episcopal throne like those austere men of the Middle Ages they sought in the seclusion of the cloister to impose upon them the duty of defending the interests of the Church, and who were astonished that they should place the mitre on their brows and put a crosier in their hands."

In a letter to Monsignor de Mazenod announcing his approaching elevation Monsignor Casanelli wrote: "I am threatened with the loss of M. Guibert, who is my right arm and the principal instrument of all my works. I don't dissemble from you, Monseigneur, that I was the first promoter of the blow I apprehend. Convinced as I was, and as I still am, of the eminent qualities which distinguish M. Guibert, and appreciating the signal services he has rendered to my diocese, I have regarded it as a duty of justice and gratitude to designate him to the Government as a subject capable in every respect of fulfilling the functions of the episcopate. It was in 1837 I first spoke of him to the Minister of Worship; later, in 1839, I confirmed in an official letter the information I had verbally given." He concluded by asking as a favor to be permitted to retain him for two years longer. "The delay I ask for," he adds, "will only serve to increase M. Guibert's merit; he will leave Corsica with more glorious antecedents, if he gives the finishing touch to the holy undertakings which were the object of our common solicitude." Père Guibert on his part left himself entirely in his superior's hands. "I have never done except what you willed," he wrote to Monsignor de Mazenod, "and I wish to follow it as my sovereign rule to my last breath, but I desire that in coming to so grave a decision you should decide only for the greater good of the congregation. It is for it I have lived up to this; I wish to live and sacrifice myself for it to the end." Monsignor de Mazenod, with his wonted perspicacity, had long discerned in him a vocation to the episcopate, and had two years before actually suggested his nomination to the See of Gap, which would have had the double advantage of giving the Church a wise prelate and the congregation a protector in a diocese where its interests were menaced.

When Père Guibert received official intimation of his nomination to the See of Viviers he wrote: "Corsica is now preparing to celebrate an event which I shall regret all the days of my life if it takes place." And when Monsignor de Mazenod received the letter of the Papal Internuncio, Monsignor Garibaldi, who asked him not to interpose any obstacle, he noted in his journal: "Poor Guibert is overwhelmed by the blow. Is it for me to counteract the designs of Providence? Whatever want this dear child may cause in Corsica, whatever may be the gap he will also make in the congregation, I would be acting against my conscience if I opposed his acceptance of the burden the Lord places on him. This sacrifice which I shall make to the Church will draw down new blessings on the congregation. How not see the hand of God in these events? . . . After such a letter from the Pope's representative, is there anything else than to submit to the will of God? I shall never take it upon me to offer the least obstacle." Writing the same day to Father Courles, he said: "I am getting old; besides, I can no longer bear, I should not say the burden, but the whole responsibility and weight of my position. I shall be obliged to retire from the world before the time. It will be useful to the congregation to have a protector in the Church of France, above all a prelate who will be such an honor to it."

When the Bishop-designate was just about to set out for Paris he wrote to the founder: "Bless me once more before my departure, my beloved father. Formerly when I left for Paris I felt so light-hearted, so full of courage! It was because I was going on other people's business; it is not so this time: I am a victim you are sending to the sacrifice!" To a young religious he wrote: "After all, if I only consulted my interests, my ease and my tranquillity, I should remain what I am. I do not rest my gaze on vanity, and I often place myself in thought at the moment of death. What a happiness to give up one's soul to God in a little cell, on a humble pallet, surrounded by one's friends and brethren! So I hope that God, who has given me so many tokens of His merciful goodness, after having used me to do some good in the new apostolate I am entering on, will lead me back to the simplicity of my first state. I even hope not to withdraw myself too far from it in the exercise of my new ministry; I wish to be a simple, poor, missionary Bishop, that my manner of life may remind me of what I have been, what I have not ceased to be, what I wish to be at the moment of my death." To another of his brethren he intimated that he accepted his nomination in obedience to the command of the Holy Father. "An order emanating from a higher authority and to which all wills must yield, even that of the Bishop of Ajaccio, who was the most interested in warding off the danger, arrived," he says, "three days before the ordonnance."

When the Bishopric of Viviers became vacant by the resignation of Monsignor Bonnel de la Barthe, a nominee of Monsignor Frayssinous, the choice of the Government wavered as to which of the numerous candidates it would select. The King, bored by the delay, in any angry mood ordered the Minister to bring him a list of the candidates. The first name that met his eyes was that of Père Guibert. "*Que diable!*" said Louis Philippe. "What are you thinking of to be looking for another? There's the man we want for Viviers."

The consecration took place in the Church of St. Catinat, at Marseilles, an old Dominican chapel used by the chapter pending the building of the new cathedral. The day chosen was very appropriate, Friday, the 11th of March, the feast of the raising of St. Lazarus, the first Bishop of Marseilles. Then began an illustrious episcopal career of forty-two years, which was to reflect such distinction upon the Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, who gave to the Church in France one of its brightest ornaments.

R. F. O'CONNOR.

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THE VEINS OF THE DIVINE WHISPER.

Beatae aures quae venas divini susurri suscipiunt, et de mundi hujus susurrationibus nihil advertunt.—De Imitatione Christi, III., i., 1. (Happy ears, which receive the veins of the divine whisper, and take no notice of the whisperings of the world.—Challoner's Translation.)

I.

"WHAT does Thomas à Kempis mean by 'the veins of the divine whisper' in this verse?" The question was addressed to me by a Catholic lady whose thoughtful piety, not unmingled with keenness of literary observation, doubtless had wrestled long with the peculiar phrase before it was thus submitted "for decision to a high court of last resort." Although the English expression in question must have passed dozens of times through the portal of eye or ear into my brain, it seems clear that the brain had not fully reacted to the stimulus of the words, for I was nonplussed by the question, and, after the fashion of high courts, determined not to commit myself to a hasty decision, but to take the matter under advisement.

At this point in my story it is perhaps in form to request the gentle reader's forbearance for an occasional use of "the personal note." It is not intruded for any other purpose than to make the argument clearer, as may be seen in the sequel. Certainly it is not egotistical to confess oneself baffled by an expression which, in a book of Catholic piety like the "Imitation," one might well be expected to know by heart and to have heard with the understanding as well as with the ears. Apropos of this, however, Percy Fitzgerald gives[1] us, in a personal anecdote, an illustration of the unobservant manner in which people are wont to read even a book of profound wisdom couched in sententious lessons. One of the most striking thoughts of the "Imitation" is: "If thou canst not make thyself such as thou wouldst be, how canst thou expect to have another exactly to thy mind?" Dr. Johnson quoted it with much satisfaction as a forceful utterance. "This," comments Fitzgerald, "shows the value of criticism from such an intellect as Johnson's, which, almost without effort, always seized on what was most striking or telling. Many persons who have studied their 'Imitation' may have overlooked this pregnant saying, or perhaps have not noticed its extraordinary force. They have read the book as they would any religious work of meditation, or have been attracted by other passages of a more conventional kind . . . When repeating this saying to friends, I have always noted how much they are impressed, as by some novelty."

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[1] "Thoughts on 'The Imitation of Christ,'" in "The Month," May, 1894, p. 117.

And so, when the perplexing expression, "the veins of the divine whisper," passed before the eyes of my newly awakened interest, it struck me as a kind of novelty. What, indeed, does it mean? The Latin original might give an appropriate answer, and I accordingly begged my questioner for time to consult a volume containing it which was enriched with copious references to the Sacred Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church, and which was (by good fortune, as I mistakenly thought) among my books. The volume was edited by V. Postel, canon and vicar general of Algiers and doctor of divinity, and was published in 1867 at Paris in handsome form. I found it easily enough, but the information sought in it was not found. It furnished, indeed, no less than twelve references to or direct quotations from the Bible in order to illustrate the few and brief verses in this one chapter of the "Imitation." The editor had obviously applied himself with both learning and industry to his task. But he gave no reference or quotation whatever in illustration of the verse placed at the head of this paper, nor did he attempt any explication of the mysterious words that had puzzled both my questioner and myself. Similarly, the volume[2] which had furnished the English translation to my questioner offered no explanatory reference, quotation or gloss.

Was the verse, then, whether in the Latin original or in its literal translation by Bishop Challoner, so simply self-explanatory as to permit of no interpretative footnote? Amongst the millions of readers, Protestant as well as Catholic, of the golden book of Thomas à Kempis, were there only two persons of such humble mentality as to find the words obscure in meaning?

The question seemed sadly pertinent, and in the search for a definitive answer I accordingly placed the Latin text and Challoner's rendering of it before several judges who were competently equipped, both in ascetical lore and in Latin idiom, for a clear solution of the difficulty. I felt reassured when I found the judges either silent or prolific in mutually exclusive interpretations. The sense of the passage was, then, really obscure. At all events, it was sufficiently refractory not to yield its meaning to any casual investigation.

But perhaps other editions of the Latin text would condescend with a commonly acceptable interpretation? Assuredly, the passage was difficult enough to justify annotation or commentary. But here the mystery deepened. I consulted a fairly portly volume[3] of 464 pages, giving the Latin text together with "Considerationes," taken from other works of Thomas, appended to each chapter. These "Considerations" were not infrequently of much greater length than the text which they illustrated. A new hope naturally arose within me. It would be truly appropriate that Thomas should himself explain Thomas! The event destroyed the hope. Now, the strange part of this business is that the volume in question was published in 1889 and was reissued in 1900, the demand for it justifying its reissue. Had not any of the readers of its first edition found any mystery in the words: "Venas divini susurri?" Or were its readers of a much finer mental equipment than the competent judges whom I had already consulted?

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[2] It was, of course, an edition of Bishop Challoner's translation of the "Imitation (or Following) of Christ."

Another Latin edition published at Turin in 1831, "Ad fidem Autographi anni mcdxli per Heribertum Rosweydum, S. J.," gave no better results, although it did pause to give a "Collectio locutionum quae Teutonicam phrasim redolent"—a list of expressions smacking of Teutonic idiom. And it added a chapter which admirably summarized the ascetical teachings of the "Imitation." Much editorial care had evidently been devoted to this edition. But having looked carefully through it, I perceived that either no difficulty in our verse had been noticed or that it was considered trifling on the one hand or quite insoluble on the other hand.

Of course there are well-nigh innumerable editions of the Latin original. I shall not weary my readers with further illustration, however. We shall see what we shall see in respect of some of these. Let me add that none of the editions of Challoner's translation into English which I looked up referred in any way to this puzzling verse, although the volumes had various additions of pious considerations, practical reflections, prayers, indicating no lack of care in the editing of this altogether wonderful book of the "Imitation."

II.

I have said that the judges before whom the passage was placed either gave variant interpretations or none at all. Meanwhile, some reply—it should hardly be styled an answer—must be given to my questioner. Perchance the "Glossarium" of Du Cange would offer some mediæval examples of the uses of "vena" or of "susurri"?

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[3] Thomae à Kempis De Imitatione Christi Libri Quatuor. Textum edidit, Considerationes ad cuiusque libri singula capita ex ceteris eiusdem Thomae à Kempis opusculis collegit et adiecit Hermannus Gerlach, Canonicus Eccl. Cathedr. Limburg., Iur. Utr. Dr. Opus posthumum. Editio altera . . . Friburgi Brisgoviae . . . MDCCCC. The work was edited by Dr. Laurentius Werthmann, Consiliarius ecclesiasticus.

It did furnish several such, but none that fitted the present case. If the words were Scriptural, they might be found in Cruden's "Concordance"? It was a far shot, for he dealt with the Authorized Version and not with the Doway Version. Nothing dealing with veins or whispers that could help to a solution! Unfortunately, a Latin concordance which I had several times found serviceable could not be presently located. A search through approved Latin dictionaries (including Forcellini) did not produce results that looked promising. However, there was one tropical meaning of "vena" which might serve a useful purpose: "The interior, the intimate or natural quality or nature of a thing." The "vena susurri," the "vein of a whisper," might possibly be interpreted as the inmost meaning, the inner burden or content of the message. "Happy the ears that receive the inmost message of the divine whisper and give no heed to the whisperings of the world." I accordingly suggested this as a possible interpretation, in a letter to my questioner, and embellished the interpretation with a further comment that Thomas was probably thinking of the wondrously beautiful narrative in the Third Book of Kings (chapter xix., verses 11-13); for when Elias had journeyed to the mount of God, Horeb, he was bidden to leave the cave and to stand upon the mount and witness the passing of the Lord. How should the prophet recognize Him? There was first of all a great and strong wind that overthrew the mountains and broke the rocks into pieces; but the Lord was not in the whirlwind. And then, after the whirlwind, an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake. And after the earthquake, a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire. And after the fire, there was "the whistling of a gentle air." And when Elias heard this, "he covered his face with his mantle," for he knew that the Lord was in the gentle whisper of the air—in the still, small voice, and not in the tumultuous hurly-burly of hurricanes, earthquakes, conflagrations. And if we are to hear "the veins of the divine whisper"—"the inmost message of the divine whisper"—we must resolutely close our ears to the innumerable buzzings of earthly interests. "Non in commotione Dominus!"

My questioner professed herself delighted with the tentative solution of the difficulty and with the illustration from the history of Elias. Not satisfied, however, I determined to look up different translations into English and foreign languages for other interpretations. I found very many variant ones, some of which will be spread out for the gaze of my readers. But it was only towards the close of a long hunt that I came upon a Latin edition which gave my own illustration from Elias. I was delighted at finding even one editor who had anticipated me. This was a splendid edition published in 1761 at Turin, which gives both the Latin and an Italian translation, together with pious considerations and practical reflections, a prayer after each chapter, a summary at the end of each book and citations and notes throughout, "ad oggetto di renderne piu utile la lettura"—for the purpose of making the work more useful in the reading. This is the interpretative rendering of the Latin verse: "Beate le orecchie, che odono il dolce mormorio delle divine ispirazioni: e sono sorde ai susurri confusi di questo mondo!" ("Blessed are the ears that hear the sweet murmur of the divine inspirations and are deaf to the confused whisperings of this world!"). Under the heading, "Riflessioni, e Pratiche," we find: "Not in the midst of the tumults and cares of the world does God make His voice heard. . . For the Saviour is not in the great and strong wind; not in the midst of the earthquake; not in the fire . . . but in the soft whispers of a gentle wind." And here a footnote refers to the Third Book of Kings, chapter the nineteenth, verse the twelfth. Finally, there is another enlightening reference whose consideration the plot of my story compels me to defer for the present. The edition is beautifully printed and attractively bound. An idea of its proportions may be gained from the fact that a good-sized volume of 463 pages is devoted to the Third Book alone of the "Imitation."

It is not the purpose of this paper to contend for the desirability of this interpretation or to comment favorably on the illustration from the history of Elias. For those who are interested in this present story there are perhaps a few surprises in store. But it is not amiss to note here the unsatisfactory, albeit prodigious, labors of editors like V. Postel. They cloud clear issues with many comments and pass over in silence the issues that are really obscure. They are like the patrons whom Johnson scored in his famous letter to Lord Chesterfield, who throw no rope to the drowning wretch as he struggles in the water, but cumber him with congratulations after he has managed somehow to reach the shore.

Now the Italian translation just quoted gives the reader an intelligible rendering of our verse. There still remains the difficulty, nevertheless, of accounting for the "venas divini susurri." Why should this expression be considered equivalent to "the sweet murmur of the divine inspirations?" The word "vena" might indeed be considered an apt word to image rivulets whose murmuring is soft. At all events, the Italian editor furnished the Latin original in parallel form, and no reader can fairly quarrel with a rendering beside which the original is conscientiously placed.

Well, the obscurity of the passage still remained. Doubtless other translations would, like this Italian edition, implicitly acknowledge the difficulty and endeavor to meet it manfully either in the English rendering or in an enlightening footnote. Every good translation is, in a sense, an interpretation. But there are many occasions—and this was undoubtedly one of them—where an editorial interpretation of the original text should frankly confess itself to be uncertain. The Latin text should be given in a footnote and the reason for the English rendering should be intelligibly stated when, as in the present case, the English word is not a translation, in a self-explanatory fashion, of the original. Now, the Latin word "vena" means a "vein." If, then, "vein" would leave the passage wholly unintelligible, and some other word (such as accent, or breathing, or pulse, or echo, or throbbing—all of which as I discovered, have been employed) be used as an interpretation, this fact should be clearly stated somewhere. In the English rendering, "venas" might be placed in brackets after "accent" or "rhythm," or whatever word is used. Or a footnote should state the difficulty and the reasons for its present solution. We shall see with what light-hearted freedom the translating editors have ignored this requirement.

III.

There have been many translations of the "Imitation of Christ" into English, not all of which will be considered here. Enough of them, however, will be quoted to illustrate conclusively the obscure character of the Latin original phrase, "venas divini susurri." Lovers of the incomparable volume of Thomas à Kempis will perhaps be as amused—not to say instructed—as I have been, by the wonderful variety of English renderings, which illustrate widely differing interpretations of the veins of a whisper. It will make the task of comparison somewhat easy if distinctive headings be given to the translations and the verse be quoted in full. Following the plan of Carl Hirsche[4] with respect to this verse, the hemistichs will be printed in versified form. The context will be thus more apparent, while the occurrence of our puzzling phrase in the first hemistich will be more clearly recognized. Hirsche thus prints the verse:

> Beatae aures quae venas divini susurri suscipiunt:
> et de mundi hujus susurrationibus nihil advertunt.

The rhymic cadences of "suscipiunt" and "advertunt" illustrate his theory of the rhythmic punctuation and rhymic cadences which, it is contended, caused Adrian de But, a contemporary of Thomas, to declare that the "Imitation" was written "metrice," or in rhythm. It will also facilitate comparison if the English renderings be grouped roughly into classes, rather than chronologically, in order to illustrate the idea of the meaning of the original Latin which seems to have guided the pens of the translators. The process of comparison will doubtless be further lightened if some interesting details (or, at least, details which gave me much pleasure in the finding), ordinarily dear to the heart of worthy bibliomaniacs, be given concerning each translation.

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[4] Thomae Kempensis De Imitatione Christi Libri Quatuor. Textum ex autographo Thomae nunc primum accuratissime reddidit, distinxit, novo modo disposuit; capitulorum et librorum argumenta, locos parallelos adiecit Carolus Hirsche. Editio altera, correcta et aucta. Inest facsimile autographi Thomae. (Berlin, 1891; p. 131.)

VEINS.

> Happy ears, which receive the veins of the divine whisper: and take no notice of the whisperings of the world.

In some editions "happy ears" is found as "blessed ears," and "whisperings" as "whispers." In his "Thoughts," Percy Fitzgerald says: "The favorite Catholic translation was issued in 1744, and was the work of Dr. Challoner, whose well-known initials, 'R. C.,' are attached to it. This, I presume, is the popular version now in use. It was fortunate that it was attempted thus early, though scarcely early enough, for it is cast in a rather antique and quaint phraseology. Our modern familiar tongue would never suitably present the author's ideas." This is the whole treatment which he accords to Dr. Challoner's version, and the account is sufficiently vague and, in respect of the assigned date, is erroneous. Burton says: "In 1737 Dr. Challoner turned a little while from controversy to bring out an entirely new translation of the 'Imitation of Christ,' the older version then in the hands of Catholics having become antiquated in style. The book was a favorite one with him, and he wished it to be widely spread, so that his task was a labor of love. His rendering fulfilled his hopes, for it soon became the standard version; it has been reprinted a countless number of times and still remains in popular use."[5]

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[5] Burton, "The Life and Times of Bishop Challoner," I., p. 281. The first edition was that published by Thomas Meighan (London, 1737), who in 1744 issued a second edition. Then, according to Burton, Coghlan, of London, brought out a fifth, sixth, eighth and ninth edition in 1779, 1789, 1793 and 1796, respectively. In 1800 Thomas Haydock (Manchester)issued it, and in 1810 the "thirteenth" edition was issued by Keating (London). In 1814 an edition, revised and corrected, appeared at Cork. In 1825, Coyne, of Dublin, issued what is styled by him the "fifteenth" edition. Keating, London, issued in 1826 and 1829 the seventeenth and eighteenth edition respectively. "Subsequent editions" (says Burton) "become too numerous to mention in detail, especially as some were issued without date. . . . Other editions were printed in Paris . . . 1834 and 1835; . . . in Phila-

PULSES.

Blessed are the ears that gladly receive the pulses of the divine whisper: and give no heed to the many whisperings of this world.

This translation is given in an edition of the "Imitation" published in London in 1894, with a preface by Archdeacon Farrar and with five illustrations by C. M. Gere. It was reissued in the following year, and a third edition appeared in 1905. In the eleven years intervening between the first and the third edition, apparently no reason was discerned for altering the translation of venas by pulses. The same translation appears, undated, as "a newly revised translation" in the series, entitled "The Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature," published by Griffeth, Farran & Co., London. This edition has a preface signed with the initials "W. T. B.," who says of the "Imitation" that "its powers seem to lie in its transparent thoroughness and simplicity." The "simplicity," meanwhile, is not very obviously shown in the puzzling phrase, "venas divini susurri." The simplicity was undoubtedly in the mind of Thomas; it is not very apparent in the English renderings of the phrase.

Although the pulse depends on arteries and not on veins, no one will feel like quarreling with the translator on this score; for, in Latin, vena was sometimes indifferently used by the ancients for both artery and vein. But did Thomas à Kempis have any such thought in his mind as "pulses?" What, indeed, are the pulses of a whisper?

With the word "veins" we are permitted to associate many things that might find metaphorical scope in connection with a whisper. But, after all, a vein is not a pulse—neither is an artery. The metaphor found in "vein" has now become a metonymy in "pulse," and figure is piled upon figure, Pelion upon Ossa.

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delphia by Cummiskey, 1838; and several editions have been issued by Duffy, of Dublin, and Burns & Oates, of London." This is obviously a most incomplete list of the early editions. Lowndes, in his "Bibliographer's Manual," mentions an edition issued at Manchester in 1744 with the title "Imitation of Christ." One might gather from Burton's list that the first appearance of an American edition was that of Cummiskey in 1838. Finotti, however, in his "Bibliographia Catholica Americana," notes the "1st American ed." as issued by Matthew Carey, Philadelphia, as early as 1805, under the title of "The Imitation of Jesus Christ;" what is styled by its publishers "the thirteenth edition," at New York in 1808, under the title "The Following of Christ;" and, under the same title, a Baltimore edition, in 1810. Finotti brings his work down only to the year 1820. How many editions have since appeared in America! Challoner's translation has indeed been the popular one amongst Catholics in English-speaking lands; and many millions of readers have doubtless wondered as to the meaning of "the veins of the divine whisper."

The same rendering of venas by pulses is given, in a slightly different setting, in a volume issued in London in 1902: "Of the 'Imitation of Christ'—Revised Translation. London: Henry Frowde." The volume is furnished with an Index of Scriptural Quotations; but it may be noted here for future reference that the Index does not contain any mention of the Book of Job—an exceedingly significant omission, as will appear further on in a discussion of the Biblical source for our phrase. The preface, too, remarks: "All direct quotations from Holy Scripture are printed in italics; marginal references are given not only for these, but for all allusions to or direct quotations from the Bible." If the translator had known that the verse of the "Imitation" takes the very phraseology of Job (in the Vulgate Latin), doubtless he would have hesitated before rendering the venas once more, in a "newly revised translation," as pulses.[6]

It may also be noted here that in the Frowde edition "receive" is replaced by "catch:" "Blessed are the ears that catch the pulses of the divine whisper . . ." A footnote refers to Matt. xiii., 16-17 ("But blessed are your eyes, because they see, and your ears, because they hear. For, amen I say to you, that many prophets and just men have desired to . . . hear the things that you hear, and have not heard them"). It is clear that the reference has nothing to do with veins or whisper. The statement of the preface, "The present translation is absolutely faithful to the original Latin of Thomas à Kempis" (sic), is to be read in the light of the declaration which immediately follows: "No word or phrase has been omitted in the interests of any school or party."

If by "venas susurri" is meant an exceedingly faint sound, "catch" is better than "receive," for it implies concentrated effort to gather some of the fleeting and faint sounds of the whisper. Was this implied by Thomas à Kempis? I think not.

THROBBING.

> Blessed are the ears that catch the throbbing whisper of the Lord:
> and turn not to the buzzings of the passing world.

What was apparently a Ritualist's translation of the "Imitation" into rhythmic sentences was published in London in 1889. Its translator was anonymous, but a preface was contributed by Canon

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[6] The rendering "pulses" is also found in the edition published by Walter Scott (London) in the "Canterbury" series of English classics: "Blessed are the ears that gladly receive the pulses of the divine whisper, and listen not to the whisperings of the world." This edition puts Scriptural extracts within quotation marks, but has none for our verse. There are no marginal references or notes of any kind, and there is no preface.

Liddon. It was reissued in America in 1895 with a preface signed with the initials "D. F. R.," and this edition included also the translator's preface. These two prefaces explained briefly the strange title given to the volume: "Musica Ecclesiastica—The Imitation of Christ. By Thomas à Kempis. Now for the first time set forth in rhythmic sentences according to the original intention of the author." The matter is interesting and was succinctly set forth. A larger treatment of it may be found in an article entitled "New Light on an Old Question," in the April number of the *Dublin Review* for 1880 (pages 382-409). We may not turn aside to discuss the matter here, however, for we are now concerned rather with the rhythmized rendering quoted above. Two interesting facts may nevertheless be passingly noted here. The first is that the text of the "Imitation" is divided up into portions assigned consecutively to all the days of the year. If such a brief portion were thus daily read and meditated upon, the spiritual gain would obviously be great; for annually the whole "Imitation" would be read, and the common and careless trick of opening the volume anywhere for spiritual reading would be avoided. The whole chapter which includes our verse is thus assigned to July 8. The second fact of undoubted suggestiveness (and great appropriateness to our present inquiry) is that the translator ends his preface with a quotation from this chapter, and that our verse is found therein beautifully enshrined as it were at the very gateway of the paradisiac volume written five centuries ago.

In the rendering quoted above, "the veins of the divine whisper" is turned into "the throbbing whisper of the Lord." The allusion is pretty clear, but again we have an interpretation rather than a translation, and we are tempted to ask, Why? The Latin is nowhere given, nor is there any note or comment explaining the strange rendering. Nor, withal, is the meaning made any clearer. The pulse (vena) throbs, indeed, and so the allusion is fairly to be gathered. But does a whisper throb? The translator has poetized as well as rhythmized his rendering of the Latin. He has done still worse. He has sentimentalized a work, at least in this verse, whose author was the farthest possible remove from a sentimentalist in religion or in asceticism. The crowning glory of the "Imitation" is the wonderful combination it exhibits of simplicity and directness of utterance, of depth of meaning, of truth to the facts of the human heart and of practical common sense. It deals indeed with thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears; but it does so with the matter-of-fact directness of a surgeon amputating a leg and not with the hysterical sobbings of the wife whose husband is thus being operated upon. Throbbing whisper? No, no! Thomas à

Kempis would regard such sentimentality with amazement and incredulity.

A new and Catholic revision[7] of the rhythmical translation was published in 1908. Its editor says: "The translation here published was . . . chosen because it reproduced well the spirit of the original, even so far as to copy its rhythmical structure. . . . Every line, indeed every word, of the English has been accurately compared several times with the corresponding line and word of the superb Pohl edition (1904) of the manuscript of the author." The result of this repeated comparison of the anonymous English translation with Pohl's Latin edition is a changing of various words and expressions. With respect to our verse, however, only the second line is slightly altered, the words, "the passing world," being simplified into "this world." The important point is that the rendering of "venas divini susurri" by "the throbbing whisper of the Lord" remains uncorrected. Neither the original English translation nor its American revision indicates the reason for the rendering, "throbbing whisper." And yet we have already collected several curious renderings: Veins, pulses, throbbing. All of them appear to be interrelated figuratively. Can we say the same thing of our next illustration, wherein "venas" is rendered by "instillings"?

INSTILLINGS.

> Blessed the ears which receive the instillings of the divine whisper:
> and take no notice of the whisperings of the world.

The pulse might be popularly understood as an external evidence of the work of an artery which, as it were, registers the throbs of the heart in its endeavor to drive the blood through its channels, and the blood thus driven might be conceived (popularly) as forcing its way onwards, drop by drop. Whence we arrive (perhaps) at the idea of the instillings. Veins, pulses, throbbing, instillings may thus be looked at as efforts on the part of the translators to render the thought suggested by the "veins" of a whisper. But again we have metonymy founded on metaphor. And one may doubt that any clear notion is conveyed to the reader by the instillings of the divine whisper. The ear perceives something that sounds poetical in phrase; but the intelligence remains inquisitive, if not querulous. Did Thomas à Kempis mean that the inward speaking of God to the soul is a slow process, such as the word "instilling" would naturally suggest?

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[7] "The Sodalist's Imitation of Christ . . . an English translation reproducing the rhythm of the original, revised, corrected and edited by Father Elder Mullan, S. J., New York, 1908." It was a happy thought so to revise the work for Catholic readers, who were thus enabled to see concretely the theory of rhythm in the Imitation as propounded by Hirsche in 1874, and to look at the ascetical labor of Thomas in the light of this new theory of his loving anxiety that the rhythmic cadences of his language should render his work more attractive to those for whom it was written.

A translation of the "Imitation" containing this rendering of our verse was published by Murphy in Baltimore in 1886 without indication of the translator, or preface, or notes of any kind, or any indications whatever of Scriptural extracts. The same translation was published in London by Kegan Paul in 1892 with the imprimatur of Cardinal Manning, similarly without notes, preface, etc., and was evidently intended for the devout use of its readers rather than for the satisfaction of any scholarly inquisitiveness; for in the same year Kegan Paul issued a much larger edition giving both the Latin and its English translation on pages that faced each other. The Latin text employed was that of Hirsche, with its interesting divisions of paragraphs, sentences, and even clauses, based on Hirsche's theory concerning the punctuation, rhythms and rhymic intentions (or coincidences, as the case may be) of Thomas à Kempis in the autograph of the year 1441. With respect to the English translation that accompanied the Latin text, page by page, it may be said that its similar divisions into paragraphs, sentences and clauses made the reading of the translation an unpleasant task save for a patient scholar who was willing to toil much in order to compare the Latin with its vernacular rendering. A publisher's note informs the reader that this English translation is "based on that by Bishop Challoner (1744), modified by comparison with every known version in English, and many in foreign languages. In some few cases a new rendering has been adopted." Kegan Paul had published several variant editions of the "Imitation," and I suspect that this one of the year 1892 simply used, with perhaps the "new rendering" in some cases (of which the publisher's note speaks), one of his older editions. If this be true, it is important to notice that our puzzling text did not receive, in the edition of 1892, any new rendering, so far as I can judge. But it is still more important to notice that the extensive comparisons made with all the known English translations down to the year 1892 and with many in foreign languages resulted in no additional clarification of the "veins of the divine whisper." This is the phrase of Bishop Challoner in his literal rendering of the Latin original. Kegan Paul's edition professes itself to be based upon the Bishop's translation, and thus implicitly acknowledges that "the veins of the divine whisper" called loudly for interpretation. But is "instillings" an intelligible interpretation of "veins"?

SECRET BREATHINGS.

Blessed be the ears that hear the secret breathings of Jesus, and heed not the deceitful whisperings of this world.

We have seen that whereas Challoner thought it best to translate "venas divini susurri" literally into "the veins of the divine whisper," others have endeavored to interpret the "veins" in some intelligible fashion. Thus we have considered "pulses" (for a vein or an artery may be supposed to suggest a pulse), "throbbing" (a derivative of "pulses"), and "instillings" (an idea similarly connected with pulses).

A vein, however, may properly suggest other things metaphorically. The veins are hidden within the encompassing flesh and may be seen only in rare lines of tracery underneath the skin. They are mostly hidden or "secret," and possibly this thought is implied in the translation given above, which is that of Richard Whytford, first published in 1556 and again in 1585 and subsequently. In 1872 Dom Wilfrid Raynal, O. S. B., edited the work, modernizing the spelling, altering somewhat the punctuation, but preserving the text unaltered except, as he remarks in his introduction, "where the overcrowding of particles rendered the meaning very obscure." After his death, his edition was reissued with an appreciation of Dom Raynal's work contributed by G. Roger Hudleston, O. S. B. With singular infelicity, the beautifully printed and exquisitely illustrated edition now lying before me uses the words of the Authorized Version for most of the Biblical texts, although this "Authorized Version" appeared more than half a century after Whytford had published his work. He had stoutly resisted the religious encroachments of Henry VIII., must have been an octogenarian when Queen Mary began her short reign, and "had in all probability sung his Nunc Dimittis ere Elizabeth ruled the land" (Raynal). He could have known nothing of the "King James Version" of the Bible.

From Dom Raynal's historical introduction we learn that Whytford was in all probability chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester at the time that the Countess of Richmond, mother of King Henry VII., died. Her name is almost romantically, as well as most piously, associated with the first publication of the "Imitation" in English; for not only did she translate the Fourth Book (on Holy Communion) and have it printed by Richard Pynson, the king's printer, in 1503 and again in 1504, but it was at her "speciall Request and Commandement" that Wynkyn de Worde, in 1502 (?), printed the first three books of the "Imitation" as translated by "Mayster Wyllyam Atkynson, Doctor of Diuynyte." It was also "at the commaundement and instaunce of the ryght noble and excellent prynces Margarete moder to our soverain lorde Kynge Henry the. VII. and Countesse of Rych mount and Derby" that Pynson printed the first three books in "the yere of our Lord MD. iii." "Bishop Fisher, her confessor, has so beautifully drawn her character in the funeral oration he delivered at her death, that we at once recognize in her a humble soul thoroughly imbued with the spirituality of 'The Imitation of Christ'" (Raynal). The strong character of Whytford is illustrated by the advice he gave to his young friend, afterwards Sir Thomas More, to resist a certain unjust attitude of the king. Thomas followed the advice of his spiritual counsellor! Both were strong men, indeed, in the after times that were so sadly out of joint. We know the splendid fate of the chancellor of England; and Dom Raynal pictures for us the patient but always resolute resistance of Whytford to the alternately brutal and cunning measures of the emissaries of Henry VIII. The story cannot be rehearsed here, but if the attention I have thus solicited to this volume should lead any reader to become more familiar with its pages, I may be pardoned the digression I have so far indulged. For it is a beautiful book even in its externals of paper, printing, binding and illustrations, although it suffers from the officious handicap of having altered the words of Whytford in order to make many of his Biblical texts conform to those of the authorized version of English Protestantism.

"ROUNYNGE."

Blessid be the eres that receyue of goddes rounynge:
& takith non hede of the rounynge of this worlde.

The verb "roune" means "whisper," and "rounynge" is therefore "whispering." The rendering is declared to be the earliest made into English and is supposed to date back to 1450-1480. In 1893 Kegan Paul published (for the Early English Text Society), and John K. Ingram, LL. D., senior fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and president of the Royal Irish Academy, edited (with preface, notes and glossary), a translation of the first three books of the "Imitation" found in a manuscript of Trinity College Library, Dublin. The editor compared the manuscript with another found in the University Library, Cambridge, noting the variant readings. I cannot here reproduce all the quaintness of the printing, but the extract as given above is sufficiently faithful for our purpose. The Third Book is headed: "Here begynneth the third parte of inwarde conuersacyon. Of the inwarde spekynge of crist into a soule. C(apitulum) p(rimum)." And the text itself of the translation forthwith begins: "I shal here what oure lord god spekith in me. Blessful is that soule that herith our lorde spekynge in him, & takith of his mouthe the word of consolacion. Blessid be the eres that receyue of goddes rounynge, & takith non here of the rounynge of this worlde." The work itself is headed: "Here begynneth the tretise called Musica Ecclesiastica."[8]

The unknown translator of the "Imitation" into this early English was apparently not ill-advised in omitting all mention of the veins of the whisper. It is curious, meanwhile, that he should not have followed the example set by a still earlier rendering[9] of the Vulgate Latin of Job (iv., 12) into English, which faithfully preserve the "veins." He is satisfied with "the whispering of God" as a rendering of "venas divini susurri"—and the experience we have thus far gained of recent English renderings will hardly lead us to quarrel with him.

"STYLL SPEKYNGE."

Blessyd be the eris that here the styll spekynge or rownynge of almyghty god:
and pondereth nat the dysceytfull callynge or pryue mouynge of the worlde.

Wynkyn de Worde was the first to print the "Imitation" in English. His edition was reprinted, under the editorship of Dr. Ingram, by Kegan Paul in the year 1893 volume already cited here. The earliest English manuscript of 1450-80, which gave us "rounynge" or "whispering" as a translation of our "venas susurri," contained only the first three books. The whole four books were printed in 1504 by Wynkyn de Worde. Of these, the first three were rendered by William Atkynson, D. D., and the fourth, by the Lady Margaret, mother of King Henry VII. and Countess of Richmond and Derby. The title runs: "A full deuoute and gostely treatyse of the imytacion and folowynge the blessyd lyfe of our most mercifull saviour cryst: compyled in Latin by the right worshypfull Doctor, Master John Gerson, and translate into englissh the yere of our lord, M.d.ii. by mayster wyllyam atkynson, doctor of diuynyte at the speciall request and commandement of the full excellent pryncesse, Margarete, moder to our souerayne lorde Kynge Henry the VII., and Countesse of Rychemount and Derby." The third book begins: "Here begynneth the iii. boke. The firste chaptre conteyneth the inwarde spekynge of our lorde Jesu criste to mannis soul that he hath specially chosen: Lo, sayth suche a feythfull soul, I shall attende and here what our lorde shall speke in me." Dr. Ingram tells us that Atkynson's translation was not made from "the French," as the "Dictionary of National Biography" asserts. Atkynson died in 1509. He was canon of Windsor, 1506-7. The title ascribes the "Imitation" to Chancellor Gerson. Dr. Ingram follows the almost universal view that it was composed by Thomas à Kempis.

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[8] In the Chronicles of Adrian de But, a Cistercian who was a contemporary of Thomas à Kempis, occurs a note referring to the year 1459, praising the ascetical works of Thomas à Kempis and mentioning casually that Thomas had written "metrically a certain volume on the words 'Qui sequitur me'" ("Quoddam volumen metrice super illud 'Qui sequitur me'"). Qui sequitur me, "he that followeth me walketh not in darkness," begins the Imitation or "Following" of Christ. This allusion is clear enough, but the "metrice" puzzled commentators on the Imitation until Carl Hirsche propounded his theory. "This latter term might have remained an inexplicable puzzle were it not for the discovery made about 1872 by Dr. Carl Hirsche, that the Imitation of Christ, as well as most of the other writings of Thomas à Kempis, is written and punctuated so as to be rhythmical. Herein, too, is found the explanation of the fact that certain old manuscripts of the book bear the title 'Musica Ecclesiastica.'" Thus Cruise, Thomas à Kempis: Notes of a visit to the scenes in which his life was spent, with some account of the examination of his relics. (London, Kegan Paul, 1887; p. 156.) Pohl, however, in his edition of the (Latin) Imitation (1904) prints the text in solid block form, whilst noting in an appendix the curious punctuation marks on which, apparently, Hirsche based his theory.

[9] Walter Hilton's "Scale or Ladder of Perfection" (Book III., sect. 2).

The "rounynge" of the earliest English translation now appears as "the styll spekynge or rownynge"—in brief, the whispering.

THE SOUND OF THE DIVINE VOICE.

Blessed are those ears that receive the sound of the divine voice; and listen not to the whisperings of the world.

In 1654 Dr. John Worthington, Master of Jesus College and vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge, issued a translation which he entitled "The Christian's Pattern." The rendering throughout is practically that of "F. B." (generally identified with Anthony Hoskins, S. J., whose translation, printed first in 1613, became virtually the basis for all those which have been subsequently issued in English), but omits certain passages which did not please the theological views of Dr. Worthington. The first edition is not extant, but the edition of 1677 exhibits a work which, thinks Copinger (in his "Bibliographiana, No. 3"), is "no doubt an excellent translation, but the idea of there being anything of particular value in it is a delusion."

An edition of 1705 bore the title, "The Christian's Pattern; or, a Treatise of the Imitation of Jesus Christ . . ." It was reprinted by T. C. Hansard in 1831. We read in the preface that "it hath been endeavored generally to keep as close to the Latin as might be without clouding or perplexing the sense. . . . That this endeavor of bringing this edition nearer to the simplicity of the author's sense and notion in the Latin, and withal of correcting such passages in former editions as did not only not come near to the words of the author, but were also too much at a distance from his sense; I say that such an endeavor as this might the better succeed; several Latin editions have been consulted." After such emphasis upon "the sense of the author," we find the "venas divini susurri" rendered as "the sound of the divine voice"—a clear evasion both of the "venas" and of the "susurri." Also, the antithesis apparently implied by Thomas à Kempis between "susurri" in the first hemstich of the verse and "susurrationibus" in the second, goes without any English equivalent. The "rounynge" of the earliest English translation at least included the idea of the "susurrus."

WHISPERS.

Blessed are those ears that receive the whispers of the divine voice; and listen not to the whisperings of the world.

I wondered for some time whether Maggie Tulliver really read these words in the copy of the "Imitation" that George Eliot pictures her, in her loneliness and desperate distress of mind, as finding in the heap of books that had been brought to her by the admiring Bob. I had thought that the words simply recorded an attempt made by George Eliot herself to supply a new and reasonable rendering of the Latin verse. I have found, however, that the verse had been thus translated by John Wesley in his "The Christian's Pattern," issued in Baltimore in 1813 as "from the twenty-first London edition." It seems probable to me that George Eliot had Wesley's translation (or an edition based upon it) under her eyes when she drew so pertinently from the golden book of Thomas à Kempis for the gentle instruction of Maggie Tulliver's impatient soul.

The first edition of Wesley's translation appeared in London (C. Rivington) in 1735, with the legend, "compared and corrected throughout." It is based on the previous translation by Worthington, which has just been noticed, and in the preface gives wise directions for those who read the "Imitation" how best to draw spiritual nourishment from it, refers to Worthington's edition (without, however, naming the author, as Wesley appears not to have known the name), and gives an account of the idea that shaped the new translation: "Of all the paraphrases, none is more destructive of the sense, none more contrary to the spirit of this author, than that which attempts to polish his style and refine his simplicity into eloquence!" Commenting upon this view, Copinger says: "Had this sentiment been more universally accepted, the Latin of Castalio and the English versions of Stanhope and Payne might have been spared us." Wesley complains that Worthington's edition (1677) "is in many places rather a paraphrase than a translation: by which means not only much of the beauty, but of the strength and spirit of the original is lost. These paraphrastical expressions, so highly injurious to the nervous brevity of the author, are here removed, and the words rendered in as liberal a manner as the nature of our tongue will bear."

Wesley merely changes "sound" to "whispers," retaining all the rest of Worthington's rendering of our verse; but the slight change effects a splendid amendment, for it preserves the antithesis of susurrus and susurrationes, and replaces the nerveless word "sound" by the keyword "whispers," thus harking back to the Vulgate of Job iv., 12. By his faithfulness so far forth to the Latin of Thomas à Kempis, Wesley builded better than he knew—for doubtless he was quite unfamiliar either with the Latin of the Vulgate or with the English rendering of the verse in Job by the Doway translators. He evades, nevertheless, the word "venas."

It seems to me highly interesting that George Eliot should have included, in "The Mill on the Floss," this puzzling verse of ours amongst the few excerpts from the "Imitation" selected for Maggie's reading, and that, following on with the next verse, she should have placed a dash in order to permit of her immediate comment: "A strange thrill of awe passed through Maggie while she read, as if she had been wakened in the night by a strain of solemn music, telling of beings whose souls had been astir while hers was in stupor." The brief and scattering extracts are skilfully introduced by the novelist: "At last Maggie's eyes glanced down on the books that lay on the window-shelf, and she half forsook her reverie to turn over listlessly the leaves of the 'Portrait Gallery,' but she soon pushed this aside to examine the little row of books tied together with string. . . . She took up the little, old, clumsy book with some curiosity: it had the corners turned down in many places, and some hand, now forever quiet, had made at certain passages strong pen-in-ink marks, long since browned by time. Maggie turned from leaf to leaf and read where the quiet hand pointed." The whole chapter ("The Voice from the Past") that closes the fourth book of "The Mill on the Floss" is a classic. With its powerful description of the desolate states of Maggie and of the miraculous effect the reading of a few passages in the "Imitation" had on her newly awakened attention we have here, of course, nothing to do. But my readers will perhaps indulge me with a quotation from George Eliot's own reflections: "I suppose that is the reason why the small old-fashioned book, for which you need only pay sixpence at a bookstall, works miracles to this day, turning bitter waters into sweetness, while expensive sermons and treatises, newly issued, leave all things as they were before. It was written down by a a solitary, hidden anguish, struggle, trust and triumph—not written on velvet cushions to teach endurance to those who are treading with bleeding feet on the stones. And so it remains to all time a lasting record of human needs and human consolations—the voice of a brother who, ages ago, felt and suffered and renounced—in the cloister, perhaps, with serge gown and tonsured head, with much chanting and long fasts and with a fashion of speech different from ours—but under the same silent, far-off heavens, and with the same passionate desires, the same strivings, the same failures, the same weariness."

The "rounynge" of the earliest English version is virtually the "whispers" of John Wesley's translation. If we do not admire the literary stoicism of Dr. Challoner in simply placing before us, without any attempt at elucidation, an English literal rendering of the "venas divini susurri," we shall probably admit that "rounynge" and "whispers" are as serviceable translations as we may hope to find. Any adjective placed before them would be either an ambiguous interpretation or a piece of purely "poetical" sentimentality. Let us consider some of these questionable adjectives.

SOFT AND GENTLE.

Blessed are the Ears, which, with a greedy Attention, drink in the soft and gentle Whispers of his Spirit:
while they continue obstinately deaf to the treacherous Insinuations of this deluding World.

George Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury, published (London, 1696) what some critics would probably call an alleged translation of the "Imitation" under the title of "The Christian's Pattern." A specimen thereof is quoted above. One may form a fair estimate of its literary style from the extract; but it will not be amiss to add his translation of the following verse: "And doubly blessed are they, who hear the Sound of Truth, not only in the Outward Administration of the Word, but by the Inward and Familiar Communications and Motions of infused Grace." The developing and enveloping process will stand out clearly if we compare with this Challoner's simple and literal rendering: "Happy ears indeed which hearken to truth itself teaching within, and not to the voice which soundeth without."

The author of the translation, however, foresaw no criticism on the score of literary elaboration. He rather feared that a charge of unfaithfulness would be preferred. He professes to follow the Latin of Castalio, who, as he declares, "hath taken some liberty in places peculiarly relating to the Romish Superstitions" and confesses (or professes) that he himself "hath not only trodden in his Steps thus far, but, in the Chapters which concern a Monkish Life particularly, hath endeavoured to express himself, for the most part, as that such Meditations might be accommodated to the Circumstances of any Pious Christian, who declines the Pleasures and Business, and other Interruptions of the World, and sequesters himself to the Exercise of Devotion and severer Virtue." He further alleges that "In order to preserve the Zeal and Spirit of the Author, it was found necessary sometimes to abridge, and at others to enlarge a Thought, and carry it a little higher. All which the Reader hath this Warning of, to prevent any Objections which might otherwise be raised, against the Faithfulness of an Undertaking, intended, not so much to acquaint Englishmen what Kempis thought, as to convey those Thoughts with some Degree of that Sprightliness and Affectionate Warmth, which the Original Composer at first felt for them." It is at all events an honest avowal of unfaithfulness to the original, however we may smile at his confidence that he was able at times to enlarge the thought of Thomas à Kempis and "carry it a little higher." How much "Sprightliness and Affectionate Warmth" he has added to the dull and frigid language of the "Imitation" need not be pointed out.

The success of "The Christian's Pattern" is to me one of the curiosities of literature. Of its many English and American editions I will not speak; but that it should have been thought a sufficiently remarkable classic to warrant its inclusion in Morley's Universal Library (London, Routledge, 1886) is to me a very wonderful thing. Henry Morley does not include the delightful preface of Stanhope in this modern edition, but concludes his own introduction (giving an account of the "Imitation" and of its author) with a paragraph dealing with Stanhope and his translation. Morley tells us that the "Pattern" went through seventeen editions from 1696 to 1809. I think this an understatement even for the one country of Great Britain. But it had several editions in America also, two of which are noted in Finotti's "Bibliographia Catholica Americana." The volume from which I myself have quoted was published in Dublin in 1766, and bears on its title-page the legend: "The Thirtieth Edition," and this was only seventy years after the first London edition of 1696.

It should be noted that Stanhope italicizes what he recognizes as Scriptural extracts and gives marginal references, but does not do so for our verse, which nevertheless quotes Job (iv., 12).[10]

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[10] American readers will be interested to learn that Stanhope's work was reprinted in Germantown (Philadelphia) by Christopher Sowr in 1749, with the curious statement of the title page that it was an "Abridgement of the Works of Thomas à Kempis. By a Female Hand." Our verse is rendered exactly as in the quotation given above. A copy of the edition of Sowr is in the library of the American Catholic Historical Society. Two other copies are in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

SOFT WHISPERS.

Blessed are the ears that receive the soft whispers of the divine breath:
and exclude the noise and tumult of the world.

This is the rendering of John Payne (London, 1763), who in the preface to his own translation of the "Imitation" remarks: "As 'The Christian's Pattern' by Dean Stanhope has claimed a place among the translations of this excellent book . . . it will be asked, what occasion was there for attempting a new one?" He answers his own question as follows: "It was attempted to do some justice to the sense of the original; which is almost lost in the loose paraphrase of Dean Stanhope, and almost deprived of its spirit by the literal and inelegant exactness of others." He follows the divisions and titles of the edition of M. J. Valart (Paris), and declares that his quotations from the Scriptures are more numerous than they are in the original, quoting from "our English Bible." It is doubtless due to this last fact that he does not recognize any Scriptural language in the first chapter of the third book (which has our verse)—not even the quotation from Psalm lxxxiv., 9, which begins the chapter, and, of course, not that from Job iv., 12, which furnishes the verse of the "Imitation" with the veins of the whisper.

The same rendering as I have quoted above is found in the translation of Thomas Frognall Dibdin, D. D., F. R. S. S. A.—"that worthy bibliomaniac," as Fitzgerald styles him—which was issued by Pickering in 1828 in a manner "worthy of the translator's taste in typography." Dibdin bases his version on that of Payne, "but with such modifications and corrections as may probable entitle the present [version] to the distinction of a New Translation." Dibdin has more references to the Bible in our chapter than Payne, but he does not recognize Job iv., 12. He comments on Stanhope's translation and says: "As the very opposite of this version of Dean Stanhope, the recent literal one of the Rev. and Ven. Dr. Challoner may be recommended," but questions "whether its literal fidelity do not give it a somewhat bald and arid character."

ACCENTS.

Happy ears which receive the accents of the divine whisper:
and take no notice of the whisperings of the world.

This is a translation virtually identical with that of Challoner. The title-page directly ascribes it to Challoner, and nevertheless the volume (which bears the imprint of a New York publisher, while, curiously enough, the reverse of that page has the imprimatur of the vicar general of Tournai, dated June 6, 1902) nowhere indicates that occasional alterations have been made in Challoner's text. We have here an interpretation and not a translation of our verse. Why should venas be rendered by accents? The obscurity of the Latin is indeed largely dispelled, but, for all one can conjecture, is replaced by a false glare. Of course, an explanation is not vouchsafed. One grows still more impatient with the editor (unnamed) for changing the original English text without notification to the reader.

Blessed are the ears that gladly receive the accents of the divine whisper.

This is apparently a compound version made out of Challoner and the translation we have already noted under "pulses." It was edited by Brother Leo, F. S. C., and issued in 1910 by Macmillan (New York) as one of the "Temple Classics." Why "gladly" is inserted one can only conjecture. It has a preface and notes, but does not recognize anything peculiar and worthy of note or comment in our verse.

BREATHINGS.

Blessed are the ears which catch the breathings of the divine whisper: and pay no heed to the whispers of the world.

This translation appeared in New York (White, Stokes & Allen, 1886). No explanation is anywhere given of why "venas" should be rendered by "breathings." What, indeed, are the breathings of a whisper other than the whisper itself? The verse in Job was apparently unknown, in its Vulgate Latin form, to the translator. "Breathings" must have become quite popular in Catholic circles, for it occurred in a "new translation" published by Burns & Oates some years ago: "Happy ears, which receive the breathings of the divine whisper, and take no notice of the whisperings of this world." This reappears in "a new edition" bearing the imprint of a Catholic publisher in Philadelphia. Thus it circulates among Catholics on both sides of the ocean. Again, of course, there is no indication of the reason for "breathings" as a rendering of "venas." The volume contains 864 pages made up most largely—since the volume is intended solely for devotional purposes—of excellent "reflections," "prayers" and appendices which indicate many ways in which the "Imitation" may be made to serve the most varied uses of piety. But one is inclined to indulge the fancy that, in such a chubby book, a very few pages might be unobtrusively slipped in, which should exhibit briefly the texts of the Latin which have been doubtfully or ambiguously translated. It may properly be noted here that one of the appendices refers to the chapters of the "Imitation" "arranged according to the Gospel of all the Sundays of the year," and that the chapter containing our verse is thus assigned to the second Sunday in Lent, whose Gospel presents us with the narrative of the Transfiguration of Christ and records the "voice out of the clouds, saying: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him." The reference is very appropriate, for the chapter of the "Imitation" is devoted to "the internal discourse of Christ to a faithful soul," and begins with the words of the Psalmist: "I will hear what the Lord God will speak in me."

HEAVENLY.

Blest are the ears by heavenly whispers thrilled,
But deaf to those by which the world is filled.

It is sufficient to say that the versified translation of the "Imitation" was achieved by Henry Carrington, M. A. (London, 1889). We must not hold a poet down to the limitations of arid questioning, such as: Why does he omit "venas?" There have been metrical versions into Latin, Italian, French. We shall consider Corneille's rendering elsewhere.

ECHOES.

Blessed are the ears which receive the echoes of the soft whisper of God: and turn not aside to the whisperings of this world.

This is the rendering in the translation made by the Rev. W. Benham, B. D., rector of St. Edmund, King and Martyr (London, 1874). Canon Benham disputes, in his preface, the ascription of authorship to Thomas à Kempis, and argues for that to Gerson, chancellor of Paris. It is worthy of note that he gives Biblical references, but has none to illustrate our puzzling verse. His translation is incorporated with the "Confessions of St. Augustine" in a volume of "The Harvard Classics," edited by Dr. C. W. Eliot. Veins are here interpreted as echoes. The rendering seems at first sight to be quite fanciful, but if the views of commentators on Job iv., 12, are correct, the present rendering comes pretty near being correct. The echoes of a soft whisper must indeed be hard to catch by an ear that does not shut out resolutely all the whisperings of the world.[11]

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[11] In his Introduction to Elliot Stock's facsimile reproduction of the first edition of the Imitation, printed at Augsburg in 1471-72, Canon Knox Little very well remarks (p. 13) that we can read the Imitation "with a sweet sense and a perfect certainty that there is no mere sentimentality, or unreality, or straining too far, or—that 'prima materia' of the Devil—Cant, but the real, solid, serious fact of beautiful and spiritualized human Love going out towards God and, for God's sake, towards man." Translators should have this thought constantly before their minds in rendering the sententious texts of the Imitation. Canon Benham's rendering of "venas divini susurri" by "the echoes of the soft whisper of God," and Stanhope's "soft and gentle whisper of His Spirit," come perilously near to a phrasal sentimentality which is wholly remote from the literary style of the Imitation.

AT LEAST A FAINT SOUND.

Blessed are the ears that catch at least a faint sound of the divine whisper: and hear nothing of the whisperings of the world.

This is found in a translation of the "Imitation" edited by Father Thaddeus, Friar Minor, and published by Burns & Oates in 1908. A note refers to Job iv., 12, and to the translation of the Bible into French by Father Carrières. "Venas susurri, i. e., parum ex eo." The "veins of a whisper" is, then, an expression meaning "a little" of it; as the authorized version of English Protestants has it, "a little thereof." The true meaning is here formally declared by the translator as he apprehends it, and one acknowledges with gratitude his laborious editorial care and exactness, even if one ventures to dissent from the view expressed both in the note and in the translation itself. But why "venas" should indicate "a little" is not explained. It may prove interesting, in a succeeding article, to consider other translations of the verse into English and some foreign tongues.

H. T. HENRY.

Overbrook, Pa.

Book Reviews

The Social Legislation of the Primitive Semites. By *Rev. Henry Schaeffer, Ph. D.* Yale University Press, 1916. 12mo., cloth binding; 245 pages; index. Price, $2.35 net, postpaid.

The author modestly tells us that the present work, grown out of a thesis presented to the University of Pennsylvania, lays no claim to great originality in views set forth; it is designed to present "as clearly as possible the leading facts of a most interesting study." As a matter of fact, Dr. Schaeffer has made a thorough investigation of the various topics which he takes up in his book, and shows himself well acquainted with all the customs and laws of the Semitic world. In a scholarly way he treats successively of Matriarchy, Patriarchy, Agnation, Ge'ulla, Slavery, Interest, Pledges, Poor Laws, Sabbatical Year, Yea of Jubilee and Taxation. From the contents it is evident that, although not written professedly as a Biblical contribution, this work will appeal to the Scripturist no less than to the sociologist and the economist.

In order to find out what the conditions of the primitive Semites were, the author has considered the records of the three main representatives of early Semitism—Hebrews, Babylonians and various Arabic tribes. In dealing with his sources he manifests a truly scientific conscience, being careful not to assert more than is warranted by the evidence. In fact, it is a pleasing feature of this little volume that the author carefully avoids all exaggeration in handling his material. The subjects are so arranged as to show the relation between them, thus the tribal unit and the sacredness of family property naturally lead to many enactments with regard to the Levirate, Ge'ulla, Slavery, Year of Jubilee, etc.

Although the space allotted to each topic is necessarily short, yet, thanks to an excellent power of discrimination, the leading facts are clearly stated and emphasized, thus rendering the work a very correct and up-to-date synopsis of the results of research. It may serve also as a basis for more detailed study by students, and as such will prove most valuable in the Biblical classroom.

In connection with the chapter on Interest, we would have liked to find a mention of Dr. Hejcl's scholarly monograph, "Das alttestamentliche Zinsverbot im Lichte der Ethnologischen Jurisprudenz," etc. Likewise, when dealing with the various property rights of wives and daughters, the author might have called attention to the conditions prevailing in the Jewish colony of Elephantine under the Achemenidae. There may be here and there other little defects, but these are mere details. The work of Dr. Schaeffer is full of genuine information; it is methodical, accurate and scholarly. It will render great service to our Catholic students and should form a welcome addition to their library.

ROMAIN BUTIN, S. M.

STUDIES IN TUDOR HISTORY. By *W P. M. Kennedy, M. A.*, St. Michael's College, Toronto University, Canada, author of "A Life of Parker," "Parish Life Under Queen Elizabeth," etc. 12mo., pp. 340. London: Constable & Co.

"My object in publishing this collection of studies in Tudor history is to present to the general student and reader some material connected with only acts which must be treated very briefly in the general histories of the period. The specialist will find little new in this volume, but I venture to hope that those for whom it is written will get a better insight into some of the complicated aims and intricate problems of sixteenth century life. There is a general unity in the studies which I may call the ideal of Tudor government. This ideal can be traced through the entire ages, and it will serve to connect the studies."

The author further informs us that he differs from other writers on sixteenth century history, and even from his own previous work as an Anglican. He assures us, however, that he has conscientiously re-worked the materials, and that his conclusions have been arrived at independently as an outcome of this re-working. He adds that he has done his utmost to lift the book out of the atmosphere of controversy which unfortunately has gathered around Tudor history. The ten chapters begin with "The Policy of Henry VII." and end with "Reservation Under the Anglican Prayer-Book."

The result is a work of real historic value, well worthy of a place next to that other sterling book by the same author, "Parish Life Under Queen Elizabeth."

The writer not only gets the narrative before his readers, but he makes it a living narrative, and he enables one to catch the sequence of events that make up the story while he is searching out the motives that move the actors. An interesting as well as instructive book.

MOTHER MARY VERONICA, Foundres of the Sisterhood of the Divine Compassion: A Biography. By *Rev. Herman J. Heuser, D. D.* New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

Won into the Church from Protestantism by the forcible preaching and logical teaching of the late Monsignor Preston, himself a convert, a former leader of the High Church party in Hartford, Conn., Mary Caroline Dannat, who in religion became Mother Mary Veronica, of the Sisterhood of the Divine Compassion, was born in New York city in 1838. Her parents were zealous Protestants, who became members of the Baptist communion, and she eagerly adopted the tenets of that body. In 1857, when she was 19, she married Mr. Walter S. Starr. Her religious beliefs were not quite settled at this time, and her mind was in quite a receptive condition when she got hold of a book relative to the Schoenberg Cotta family, in which a vile attack was made upon the religious beliefs of Catholics. This work had exactly the opposite effect from that which the author intended: it set her thinking and reading for herself. The result of her mental conflict was that she determined to get instructed in the principles of the Catholic faith, and to Father Preston, of St. Ann's, New York, she went to attain her object. In 1868 she was baptized and received into the Church. Her humane and tender nature was profoundly moved by the direful conditions of poverty and its frequent concomitant, depravity, which she found surrounding the parts of the city where they resided. In a short time after (her husband having died), with the aid of Father Preston, she had founded the Association of the Holy Family, with a house at 316 West Fourteenth street, New York. After a while the name of the society was changed, in order to give a clearer idea of its aims and its mission in the city. The name chosen was the "Association for Befriending Children and Young Girls." In the course of years the work grew and burgeoned out.

until it became in time the Convent of the Divine Compassion, on Second avenue. In 1890 the society was enabled to purchase twelve acres of land at White Plains, N. Y., for the purposes of a "mother house," at a sum of twenty-five thousand dollars. There was a fine old mansion on the land, with lawns and shade trees and orchards. This was renovated, and then the Sisterhoods took possession, giving the house the name of "Good Counsel." The Good Counsel Training School, and (what followed soon after) the founding of a Catholic Girls' High School in New York city and a new convent at White Plains were the visible marks which Mother Mary Veronica left behind her to halo her memory when she died. The story of her noble achievements for God's cause is simply and touchingly narrated by Father Heuser in the book published by the Kenedy firm. Several fine plates embellish the work.

THE MYTHOLOGY OF ALL RACES. In thirteen volumes. Louis Herbert Gray, Ph. D., Editor; George Foot Moore, D. D., Consulting Editor. Volume I., Greek and Roman. By *William Sherwood Fox, Ph. D.*, Assistant Professor of Classics, Princeton University. Volume X., North American. By *Hartley Burr Alexander, Ph. D.*, Professor of Philosophy, University of Nebraska. Boston; Marshall Jones Co.

This is a pretentious work indeed. A glance at these two royal octavo volumes of over three hundred pages each, with their wealth of illustration and the evidences of scholarship on every page, is enough to convince one of the importance of the undertaking. It is the first time that a comprehensive collection by competent scholars of myths from all quarters of the earth and all ages has been attempted. For several important parts of the field no satisfactory works exist in English, while in some there is none in any language. There can be no question, therefore, as to the value of an undertaking like the "Mythology of All Races."

The selection of illustrations is a very important part of the undertaking. As the editor says: "It would have been a very easy matter to present fancy pictures or to reproduce paintings of great modern artists. Instead of that we have deemed it more in harmony with the purpose of the series to choose for each section pictures of the deities or of mythic incidents as delineated by the people who themselves believed in those deities or incidents. This will have the added advantage of extending some knowledge of the art of early times and the more primitive peoples, as well as of such highly developed arts as those of the Orient."

THE SHEPHERD OF MY SOUL. By *Rev. Charles J. Callan, O. P.* Baltimore: John Murphy & Co.

A most timely reminder, in these days of strife involving half the civilized world, to the timid soul that there is something beyond all the cruelty of war; that the Good Shepherd looks with sorrow on the sheep fighting madly and blindly among themselves, that once again they shall be gathered into the fold.

An able reviewer said lately:

"The Holy Scriptures are full of similes and parables relative to the place which gentle sheep and lambs, and their shepherds and guardians, fill in the religion that is professed by that large portion of the human race which professed belief in God, whether under the New Dispensation or the Old. The fact that the Divine Saviour of the human race is pictured, in painting and in writing, as the "Lamb of God," even so far back as the days when the Church was in hiding in the Catacombs, shows with what affection the simile was cherished as most apt and emblematic of the Paschal Lamb, the highest offering of the Jewish race to the Lord and Guide who led them out of the house of bondage into the Promised Land, flowing with milk and honey. The mode in which Father Callan makes use of this felicitous tradition of Jew and Gentile to impress us all with the lessons on noble living which it conveys, is in the highest degree profitable and practical."

CLERICAL COLLOQUIES: Essays and Dialogues on Subjects Sacerdotal. By *Arthur Barry O'Neill, C. S. C.*, author of "Priestly Practice," "Between Whiles," etc. University Press P. O. Box 99A, Notre Dame, Indiana.

This work is a companion volume to "Priestly Practice," the clerical best-seller of 1914, so generally and highly praised by Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, rectors of seminaries, preachers of priests' retreats, and the rank and file of the clergy. In matter and form, in the practicality of its topics and the grace of its literary style, the new book is fully equal to its predecessor, of which the best critics have said: ". . . The kind of book of which you say at once that no one can afford to be without it; certainly no priest or clerical student. A nice combination of humor and common sense and the wisdom of experience. . . ."—"A thoroughly satisfactory work. Priests in search of a really good book on priestly life and duties, full of sound advice conveyed in an attractive form, should lose no time in procuring a copy of this publication. . . ."

Its interest may be surmised from a glance at its contents: "Minor Devotions of the Priestly Day," "The Priest a Gentleman," "Father Tom Says the Dry Mass" (a Rubrical Dialogue), "The Priest and the Press," "A Cleric's Correspondence," "Clerical Wit and Humor," "Our Queen and Mother," "The Priest's Visits" (a Conference Discussion), "The Priest in the Sick-Room," "Spiritual Outings," "The Longevity of Priests," "Priestly Loyalty to Mother Church," "The Violet Stole," "At the Clerical Club" and "The Priest's Exemplar."

GOD'S GOLDEN GIFTS. By *Flora Lucy Freeman.* With a Preface by the late Monsignor Robert Hugh Benson. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons; 75c.

A little treasure of a book, and rendered more interesting by the preface of the late Monsignor Benson.

In these times when the Golden Gifts of God mean to so many the luxuries of this world, when those who fail to receive them feel neglected, this little book will prove a useful reminder that the real Golden Gifts are the graces by which God smooths the rough way of life and lightens the burden of the heavy-ladened, and open up a view not easily perceived in the turmoil of everyday life.

BRIEF DISCOURSES ON THE GOSPEL FOR ALL SUNDAYS AND FESTIVALS OF THE YEAR. *Rev. Philibert Seebock, O. F. M.* Translated by E. Leahy. 12mo., pp. 287. Fr. Pustet & Co., New York and Cincinnati.

"It may be said with confidence," says Father O'Neill, S. J., in his foreword to the translation, "that one of the most urgent needs of the Church in our day is the multiplication of short sermons. Hence it is a great pleasure to come upon such a treasury of excellent models and sources for brief talks from the altar as is given us in the volume of Father Philibert Seeböck, O. F. M., now translated into excellent English by E. Leahy. So much solid and useful matter is here set forth that it might serve as a basis, if need were, for much longer discourses than are named in the title. The tone and spirit of the little sermons are admirable: they are clear, practical and devout. It is to be hoped they will prove immensely useful to priests in charge of souls."

While every priest should prepare his own sermons, whether long or short, there often—we had almost said always—comes, from one cause or another, the time when such a volume as this is necessary, and for that time of need Father Seeböck's "Brief Discourses" will be admirably adapted.

MARIE OF THE HOUSE D'ANTERS. By *Rev. Michael Earls, S. J.* 8vo., cloth, colored jacket and frontispiece net $1.35. Postage, 10 cents extra. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This book is more than a story of compelling interest; it is a living arraignment of some salient features of American life. Written in a delightful vein, carrying with it at times a spirit of refreshing raillery, it nevertheless has a dash of apologetics that by no means detracts from, but rather adds immensely to the interest.

THE SHEPHERD OF THE NORTH. By *Richard Aumerle Maher*, author of "The Heart of a Man." New York: The Macmillan Company.

Father Maher knows the Adirondack country and the people who live there. He also knows the conflicting interests of capital and labor, individual and corporation. The country is so comparatively primitive, the characters so various and the interests so vital that dramatic situations are frequent. "The Shepherd of the North" brings all these things before us in narrative form and tells a story full of interest. The title refers to an apostolic Bishop who is in touch and sympathy with his people at all times; he weeps with them, laughs with them, struggles with them and triumphs with them. The unscrupulous efforts of a railroad company through unprincipled agents to gain unlawful possession of land; the deeds of violence which ensue; the forest fire which furnished one stage setting, and the trial which furnishes another, and the very pretty love element running through it all, furnish the ingredients of an interesting novel. Many persons will think it more interesting than the author's previous story of this region, because there is more of the human in it.

ONLY ANNE: A Novel. By *Isabel C. Clarke.* With colored jacket and frontispiece; net, $1.35. New York: Benziger Bros.

In "Only Anne" Miss Clarke has produced a wholesome, satisfying and very entertaining book. The limpid beauty of her style has never appeared more charming than in this sweet love story, and the delicate sense of humor that she displays in the delineation of some of the characters will be highly appreciated.

PERIODICAL

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